

## **Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1953**

- 01\_03 Letter to SWP (USA), offer by the Canadian section to translate and publish an article by E. Germain (Ernest Mandel)
- 01\_14 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: news of the branch in the BC CCF; Christmas at the Dowsons'; circulating the Pablo pamphlet; need an inside report on Vancouver
- 02\_03 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: need information on the Indian question in BC; your work and ours in the CCF; RD's activities in High Park riding CCF with the support of a Bevanite
- 02\_14 Letter to Comrade Hardy & Co. re: Pablo pamphlet sales; Bolivian revolt
- 02\_23 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: sending out books; no news of BC and the Pablo campaign; the problems of building a Bolshevik organization (Vancouver not meeting on a regular basis); personal problems in BC
- 03\_11 Letter to Joan and Don (D.), Windsor, re: heard no word from them; their response to literature sent? PAC or CCF activities?
- 03\_31 Letter to Spencer in Vancouver, re: your books account, Vancouver reluctance to circulate the Pablo pamphlet; comrades' difficulties in getting CCF memberships; the situation in RD's riding; our limited intervention in the federal CCF convention
- 04\_13 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, Montreal, re: expressions of sympathy on the death of his mother
- 04\_14 Letter to Louis & Ken (S.), Montreal, re: seeking funds for comrades in Latin America; moved the HQ to Elm Street; CCF work
- 04\_14B Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: the centre lacks rounded information from BC, resolutions; BC's difficulties with the preface to the Pablo pamphlet; need an evaluation of the (CCF) convention; Dowson Sr. hospitalized
- 04\_21 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, Montreal, re: getting him on the provincial council; IWA business
- 04\_21B Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: sympathy for the death of Reg's father; discussions with Warde (George Novack, SWP); RD not sure of supporting "the Cannon axis;" the NO's circular letters; BC should seek to be CCF convention delegates; 5 or 6 delegates to the Toronto convention
- 04\_30 Letter to Hardy (Bill W?), Vancouver, re: keeping financial records straight

05\_01 Letter to Bill (W.), Vancouver, re: shipments of SWP internal discussion bulletins

05\_04 Letter to Don (D.) and Joan, Windsor, re: his reaction and that of Toronto clubs to the recent (CCF) area convention, RD's attempts to get Temple to protest Ottawa legislation; Detroit and Windsor contacts

05\_05 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, Montreal, re: IWA developments in Quebec

05\_05B Letter to Mate Shuste, Windsor, re: *The Militant* on the Bolivia uprising

05\_05C Letter to M(aurice?), Windsor, re: the recent report from a British comrade; developments in Bolivia

05\_19 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: Dowson Sr. looking better at 999; his state of health; family finances; High Park CCF work

05\_22 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, Montreal, re: Dennison quotes Stalin against Trotsky in the Toronto CCF; Coldwell speaks to the Davenport club; Max Armstrong holding forth; CCF left-winger Young nominated in BC

05\_31 Letter to George (Cort), Vancouver, re: receipts for donations, gearing up for federal elections

06\_01 Letter to Joan and Don (D.), Windsor, re: most of donation sent to Europe; the situation in Bolivia, union PAC work; student CCFers

06\_01B Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: a promising political and financial contact in Vancouver

07\_02 Letter to Reg Bullock, re: keeping busy despite no journal being published; leaflet writing for CCF and PACs; Reg in the CCF but RD still refused although accepted in club; activating the PACs in the clubs but general demoralization and dissatisfaction in the CCF; setting up a youth "co-op" in the CCF; no tape recorder to play your message

07\_03 Letter to Hardy (Bill W?), Vancouver, re: donation receipts and copies of (SWP) plenum discussion bulletins (RD in general agreement with Breitman *—on the Pablo dispute—ed.*); election contacts coming around

07\_03B Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: thanks for the mass produced Chinese vase and the tape (no machine to play it on yet); Murray delaying trip to Britain; a family picnic rained out; Ronnie in hospital; RD painting the bookstore

07\_09 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, Montreal, re: donation receipt; *The Militant* on the East German uprising; the CCF election campaign; PAC strife against Packinghouse bureaucrats

- 08\_12 Letter to Sue, Vancouver, re: enclosing a couple of RD's CCF leaflets for the federal election campaign
- 09\_08 Letter to Hardy (Bill W?), Vancouver, re: the resignation of Kelly (Rose); recruiting new people, particularly youth; RD's work in the CCF
- 09\_09 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: the Kelly (Rose) faction absents itself, then resigns; the Toronto branch statements; RD's status in the CCF
- 09\_18 Letter to Percy, Hamilton ON, re: thanks for a (donation)
- 09\_19 Letter to Don (D.), Windsor, re: RD's CCF contact work finding some left-wingers; the meaning of the small strike wave in Ontario
- 09\_29 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: keeping the lid on the matter of "the character from afar" (US refugee Joe Metheus?); the repercussions of the Kelly affair in the Vancouver branch (NC business); a personal note from RD
- 10\_05 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, Montreal, re: reading sent; Murray intervenes against the weak (civic election) endorsement policies of the Labor Citizens committee; activities of the Toronto branch crowd; on CCF left-wingers and Quakers – pacifists close to the Stalinists
- 10\_09 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: the bookstore too busy HQ to get work done; the financial needs of Europe and the old man in hospital; more on the Kelly affair discussion in the Vancouver branch
- 10\_22 Letter to Hardy and family (Bill W?), Vancouver, re: thanks for the donation for Europe; the tape player reveals your problems
- 10\_26 Letter to Spencer (?), Vancouver, re: RD's denial that the NO or PC is preaching Bolshevism to anyone; we need your help to clear up any misunderstandings
- 10\_27 Letter to Thorne, Vancouver, re: clearing up the matter of the re-admission of a Toronto comrade in the wake of the Kelly faction's resignation; the history of this comrade in and out of the Kelly group; the problem of our "existence" as a tendency in the CCF
- 11\_07 Letter to Hugh Dowson, Vancouver, re: the Kelly-Houston affair in the Vancouver branch; the necessity for the movement to recruit new forces from the CCF to avoid stagnation, difficulties in making a return tape
- 11\_17 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, Montreal, re: our preparations for the Toronto civic elections – three candidates with support from their CCF clubs; thanks for the donation; movement leader nominations; on Lois and local club affairs

- 11\_26 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: CCL president Archer Trotsky-baits Murray's imminent endorsement as a CCF delegate; RD's almost simultaneous CCF membership application delayed despite anti-leadership club support; we decide on a strategic retreat; possible repercussions in BC
- 11\_30 Letter to Reg Bullock, re: re-elections (? to the NC); asking for BC's opinion on the international-SWP (Pablo) question; RD's inclinations
- 12\_02 Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP, New York), re: our Canadian fraternal past relations with Pablo; the SWP "Open Letter" a shock; sending the SWP a document of the Canadian position on the dispute; we appear to agree with the latest document against Pabloist revisionism
- 12\_14 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: introducing a Chinese "friend" returning home via BC
- 12\_21 Letter to Mr. McAree (a newspaper book reviewer), re: straightening him out on the record of Winston Churchill's conversation with Joseph Stalin in October 1944 and their cynical division of the Balkans behind the backs of these peoples
- 12\_23 Letter to Don (D.) and Joan, Windsor, re: their payment and donation; received their large Essex CCF newsletter; our evolution on the international-SWP question; the SWP calling for a new international leadership; Pablo calls into question the political revolution in the USSR
- 12\_28 Letter to Reg Bullock, Vancouver, re: our position is to fight the Pablo question out within the FI; Murray and Ken supporting Pablo; for a leisurely discussion at this stage; a branch majority favours the SWP position; very few civic election analyses yet for our 4 candidates



January 3, 1953 /

SWP

Dear Friends;

About a month ago we received from our overseas co-thinkers an IB written by E. Germain on philosophy. Unfortunately I do not have the one copy we received at hand so that I could tell you the number or date but as I recall it was a contribution to a cadre school syllabus.

We assume that you have also received copies of it and that someone there has taken the trouble to read it. We are wondering if you are considering translating it and circulating it? If such a project is underway would you let us know at once. If nothing has been done along this line but you nonetheless think it would be worthwhile from the point of view of your people would you let us know. We are seriously thinking of translating it and putting it out as a bulletin which could be circulated in the English speaking world.

fraternally

R. Dawson

January 14, 1955

Dear Hugh;

*Dowson*

*Ruth Dullak*

Thanks for the clippings that you enclosed with your last letter. The one on the Stalinist vote splitting candidate in the by-election was extremely interesting. An old timer who is a member of the High Park CCF and who drops in on the store occasionally is being used by the Stalinists up in Sudbury as a go between with the CCF national leadership. Of course the Mine Mill leadership in Sudbury area has a great deal of influence, I gather they want to make some deal with Coldwell over who will be the candidate in the coming Federal elections. This old timer originally came from Sudbury and had a railroad pass that permits him to shuttle between the Toronto and Ottawa. I loaned him the clipping to shove under Thibault's pass—they talk about unity!!!!!! Of course Ruth could not run for municipal office if the club was not interested, particularly when the question of our membership must be coming up anyway now. Although down here during the last municipal elections with the clubs for the most part running no candidates in ward after ward or at best one or two we were seriously thinking of proposing to one or two leftists that they should put themselves up for office and then come to the club for support, and endorsement if possible. Should we pick up some really integrated CCFers or as some of us get really rooted in the situation I think this tactic of facing the clubs with a fait accompli is worth considering.

I was very sorry to hear about Roger Bray's death—a very fine old man and old rebel. I knew nothing about it until my eye happened to fall on the disgracefully small note in the CCF NEWS. For some reason I was a way behind in my reading of the papers and so I did not know he had passed away until almost two months after he had been buried. If I had known sooner I would have written a memorial article for the Militant but I thought it would look ridiculous for us to write one so long after his death. Glad to hear that his library came our way. There must be at least a few really valuable items. I loaned me a pamphlet which gave the entire story of the Winnipeg Strike. I do not know the title. I have a couple of the defendants address' to the jury but this item is not even in the Toronto reference library which happens to have a file of the strike paper and other material. I hope whatever there was is going to be well looked after. There is a lot of valuable material floating around among Vancouver comrades and friends...we got some of it together for the short month that I set up a headquarters there. I once suggested to Bill W when I heard that he had a big house that he should set aside a room which the comrade could pay rent on if necessary for a library, reading room, gathering place. I send a copy of every Lenka Sama to Ellaline, and at various times have sent runs of Militants and Outlooks. It would be good if you could do something along the line of my suggestion to Bill.

Yes—Christmas was good for the Dowson and theirs. We all went up to Joyce's place for supper—I supplied the wine, Lois the hors-d'oeuvres, Joyce the turkey and trimmings. Banny just got back from the hospital and it was all very pleasant. We each got our gift. Ruth was really pleased with yours to her. I had given them to Jerry a few weeks previously to clean up, polish. ...and they really looked terrific, every bit of \$35 worth. I got a book of Canadian drawings from someone, Joe got a book and so did Jean, one the fourth volume of Capital the other on the British working class movement. and I forget what others got. A couple of booby prizes, prizes from Santa were handed out and mine turned out to be a hand fitted scrub board to wash socks. ...but I wash my socks in a Bendix (nylon) so I traded Jeanette for her kaleidoscope (spelling) which you know is a tube with mirrors on the sides and bits of colored glass at one end. You turn the tube when placed at your eye and very beautiful patterns are formed. I have since opened it up and put better pieces of glass in it and everyone is fascinated by it. I hadn't seen one for many years

On New Years day we did a repeat at Lois and Jean's place..turkey and all. New Year eve of course was spent with all the comrades at Vern's home. We had a very good social, revolutionary songs, dancing, drinking etc. etc.

Glad to hear that Vancouver held a social. Why dont we hold more—I gather that is the first that there has been since you arrived. We here have the problem of lack of homes. Vern's is really too far out and the same with Lois' and we have too many bachelors but I gather there are lots of facilities in Van. How did it come off?

I am very hard up for news of Vancouver doings. We havent got minutes for many many months, Reg is the only one who writes besides you and then of course he writes about some particular problem. For instance I have no idea whether we are meeting regularly, what educational work is being carried on in the group, what we are actually doing and how we see things ahead in the CCF work other than in North Vancouver, etc.

For instance what is the score on the Pablo pamphlet campaign. I have sent a couple of circular letters, a couple of enquiries to Ellaine and to Lil but havent had a word. I only sent 15 copies as a starter and have not been asked for any more. We have close the campaign here in Toronto as I have mentioned in a circular letter..on the whole it was a success over 50 copies were sold and the majority of our friends and contacts have this basic programmatic document in their hands now. We have renewed our contact with them all through the personal visit and there are several of them who appear to be much closer to us and prepared to get into the CCF in their community and give us a hand. This periphery we have here in Toronto is very valuable as you know from financial point of view...these people are all advanced workers—they are inactive now but when things start to move who knows..I am sure we will see the majority again in our ranks. Many of them are prominent in trade union circles for instance Joe Stein is now a delegate to the CCL labor council, Harry is an organizer etc etc. They move around in important circles and it is good that they should know our line. In Vancouver there are many many more advanced workers than there are in Toronto from what I gathered during my short stay there. Our comrades know and have friendly relations with dozens of radical workers. But we have never ever built up a periphery there...during the financial drives I was told by various comrades that there is practically nothing we can collect on. It would seem to me that by pushing this pamphlet dropping in to see these various dozens of independent radicals that that is how you start to build a periphery. In your last letter you mention five names of persons who certainly should have that pamphlet—LeFortune, Vic Hill, Borland, Stanton, Bill Smith. These persons and others like them can be sold the pamphlet without in the slightest way raising into question the security of our CCF orientation. We have been cautious about selling stuff in the CCF—I have sold one to Temple, and Myer sold a couple to fellows that he feels sure of but we concentrated in the main in our periphery, Murray sold several to advanced fellows at work

I have been wanting to send a circular letter out on recent developments but the last one had nothing to report on Vancouver as you probably noticed and if I write again now Vancouver will be a zero again. There are some very interesting developments here that should be known. both our internal educational work and our work in the mass movement. For instance the High Park executive asked me to start off with the first lecture in a series they are holding, I took over a public meeting we held for Prof Grube much to the approval of the audience. We are planning the most grandiose class that we have ever held here in Toronto—to provide the branch with a real knowledge or at least an introduction to the history and politics of Canada.

How about sitting down one of these nights and sending us in a real report of the Vancouver situation as you see it after being there for six months, what the problems are, how you see them being resolved, what we can do to help etc. You might also in a very cautious way and as indirectly as possible try to stir up whoever should be stirred up to send us minutes, reports etc. I dont want the comrades there to think we are nagging, I know that there are difficulties, I get the impression sometimes that our relations

are somewhat sticky so you will be very very indirect, circumspect

What are our relations with LaFortune, Don, Stanton now. Can we get them into the CCF with us to do some work of a positive character? Does it look like we will be able to get them into the club again. What does Smith have to say these days. Pleasantly suprised to hear that he is around the CCF. Have you got your membership yet?

Jeanette went into the hospital yesterday and sometime this morning had the operation on her ear. She will be in for ten days. I will probably go up to see her tonight if she can have visitors. If you have time you might just drop her a little note--you know she is quite the family gal. Murray is doing an excellent job at CCM. He is delegate to the CCL council where it looks like we will really be able to do some work on a broad basis although there is going to be a fight with the machine lead by Cotterill and Archer. Has he sent you any copies of the shop paper he is putting out?

Glad to hear that you are now working. Possibly the IAM is not too bad out there. Drop us a line when you get an opportunity.

warmest regards

Ross

February 3, 1953 ✓

Dear ~~Bill~~ Reg, *Bullock*

A longtime since I have heard from and not much less time since you have received any word from me. You should be getting another batch of minutes shortly which you will be commenting on but I thought that I would beat the gun—sometimes it takes Fitz a while to get them out. He is quite busy in his local and right now he is working on the first two classes in a series that we are having dealing with Canadian economic and social development and problems.

We have finally got some minutes from out your way thanks to the combined efforts of everyone who has had to put up with my complaints. As a matter of fact a letter concerning them has just gone out over Murray's name which I thought I should let you know about. Ell will be reading it at the next gathering. It touches on two points. The work that Brown is doing in the Indian movement. We suggest that someone be struck off to prepare a summary of the discussions that you have been holding on this work for the edification of the comrades. There was some little puzzlement here when we read that we were going to stress the necessity of preserving Indian language. You see we are terribly ignorant down this way about the Indian problem. Do the Indians have any written language... I know the Brotherhood paper comes out in English. I used to read it regularly and I never got any idea that the Indians were much concerned about the preservation of what I gathered were various tongues they spoke or for that matter the preservation of their culture—the latter seemed to rouse the interest of whites, back to nature ravists, dancers interested in native dances, artists interested in the totemic art. The Indians seemed to be interested in being accepted as equal to whites ~~were~~ oriented to getting a little bit of what is known throughout the world as the greyt American way of lyfe, and trying to get something out of the old treaties and agreements that the government is not living up to. But as I say we know little or nothing about the question, no doubt you have picked up much from contact with the Indians in orth Vancouver, and we would like to see the comrades everywhere get the benefit of your collective experiences. There is a rather large reservation of Indians in the Brantford area, a good union town about 60 miles west of here, there is also another large concentration of Indians not far out of Montreal.

There is another point mentioned in the letter which is possibly more important. What happened to the Pable pamphlet circulation campaign out there. Sent 15 to Bill ~~sent him~~ a series of letters reporting progress here and a few other points and heard nothing from Vancouver. Possibly it hit you at a bad time when we were involved in other work—if you or Bill had let us know when you read about the proposition in the club executive minutes we would have probably withdrawn the whole thing, or at least would not have got ourselves into a position of having to answer queries about what Vancouver was doing... carried in on just a Toronto basis. As you know the period we are in and the type of work we are doing (working in a reformist milieu with many of us almost on our own due to the great variation in development and possibilities from club to club) is not ~~unfavorable~~ favorable to Bolshevism, to the maintaining of the feeling of a bolshevik party and bolshevik discipline, co-ordination etc. I suggested the campaign in part to help us maintain that party feeling. Let us know what the score was on this project with you out there.

I see we recruited a couple of comrades. This is big news. How did we get them, are they from the CCF and our work there? Recruitment to a non-existent organization is a somewhat ticklish thing, particularly at this period, as a matter of fact I get the impression that some comrades down here are of the opinion that recruitment at this time and our stage of integrations is almost excluded. This event reported to the branch to everyone's pleasure. Tells us how you did it.



And how do we stand with your membership. The six months must now be up...has Ruth cooked her way in and you play read your way in. Haven't heard where Hugh stands and for that matter where Angus stands either. We haven't presented my application yet and there has been some merit in this due to the reluctance of Temple who has been opening all the doors for me, membership or no. There is a bit of a crisis developing in the Ontario leadership, the provincial secretary Morden Lazarus and one of the organizers Ken Bryden, former deputy minister of labor in Sask are resigning. So it is just possible that the coming provincial convention will result in a minor change in personnel and relationship of forces in the top leadership making it more favorable to present my application then. David Williams' membership is still being held off by Lazarus, it hasn't even come up before the executive though the local club has asked to be present, and argue for acceptance when it come up. Williams has been down to see Lazarus but hasn't been able to get him in, has bugged the club executive ~~so~~ no avail and will probably be sending in a ~~xxxx~~ letter asking the score in the next week. Alas, Ruth proved only to be too accurate in assessing the situation with Barry, the honey moon stage is taking a longtime to taper off ~~xxxxxx~~ He has not yet received his membership and unfortunately has done little about getting it. Of course there are other extenuating circumstances--up until last week he was working on night shift, has had to move and there are other odds and ends. Fortunately the federal elections are in the air so that the clubs wont begin to taper off so much in activity when May get around--as our slow movers will be able to get integrated.

There are ~~One is~~

~~xxxx~~ two bright spots here ~~xxx~~ developments in and around a youth group that one of our comrades helped organize and has been working in for three or four months. This group has really blossomed out into something promising. so much so that we have switched the activities of two more of the younger comrades that way. Recent affairs of this group have been attracting as many as thirty young men and women and the atmosphere ~~xxxxxx~~ is not at all unfriendly. With the aid of a couple of the adult clubs they are publishing a two paged lithographed paper--we have submitted the two political articles that the two issues that have come out so far carried. As for contacts in the group. --that is behind the switch of forces into it for it so happens that the one comrade all along in there is not very competent in this field of work.

The other bright spot--and here I must overcome my natural modesty--is in the club that I am working. Tonight I am speaking at the monthly meeting of one of the two clubs in the riding that I have been working. I was asked to speak following a job I did at their last meeting on a Professor Grube. Grube gave a talk on his recent trip to Great Britain in which we took the line that there was no real principled difference between the Bevanites and the Attleites and in essence tried to make Bevan out to be a bit of a mountebank. The talk I am giving tonight is in defence of a socialist policy, and the road ahead. I am going to defend the Regina Manifesto, oppose attempts to ditch it or revise it, rather than now, following Eisenhowers statements on Formosa, we must re-evaluate the Korean war and the leaderships support of it. Not ditch the Regina Manifesto but get to the basic ideas of it, we must deepen the struggle for socialism, the world is going that way, we are approaching the showdown etc, etc. The last two Tuesday nights I have been tied up leading the class that we have finally got going at the other end of the riding. The executive asked me to start it off and following my first contribution it was the warm and unanimous request that I should also take the second class. So far we haven't been able to build up much of an audience at the classes. They have been averaging six persons. The Grube meeting had about 25 although I think there will be about half that tonight. This is Tuesday and Wednesday of this week accounted for. Monday was taken up with the first meeting of the High Park sub committee of the Toronto wide joint TLO-CCL Labor Citizens Committee. I think I told you that I was made secretary of this committee. Well we are starting it to roll and I think it has real promises. We are going to hold a meeting to which we hope to attract about 30 key trade unionists from different CCL and TLO unions who happen to reside in the riding. From there we plan to hold a mass meeting. For about a year our comrades in Packinghouse have been trying to get the local's PAC into operation. On Monday night one of the Packinghouse

leaders was inattendance and he assured me that he would get it rolling. Wednesday morning one of the comrades phoned me and sure enough now things are going to move. Almost one third of the packinghouse workers live in the riding that I am working in. In the next day or so I must write up a couple of press releases about the very good nomination meeting we held and submit the item for publication in the three of four union shop papers in the area—including the one Murray is putting out in CCM, located just north of our riding. The nomination meeting had almost 200 persons in attendance. The candidate is a very good type, quite impressed by our line. And here I am not even a member.

Of course a big factor is all this is that the leader of the club looks upon himself as a Bevanite, he is even to the left of Bevan and there is a strong feeling in the clubs for freedom of opinion and discussion. He has opened doors for me. A second factor is that I have gone out of my way to really help build the club. I have been careful to make all my criticisms of a most positive character. I have pitched into any and all work that the club takes on—which isn't very hard for this club like others is not very active. I have been pushing the club to take on work which is generally official policy but which they lack the energy to carry out—in other words I have made myself the best CCFer doing what they know they should be doing. It was only due to my pressure that we took the national health petition into the streets. While I put forward our line quite vigorously I have been able to present it by and large as an extension of something that Bevan or even Coldwell has been saying, or the logical development of certain tendencies already expressed by someone in the club.

But enough of all this stuff. I see we are still suffering from the fact that clubs to which we are attached are not meeting etc. How did we make out with the petition, the national health plan petition. One of the boys lives outside the city in a community where there is no club. The only club in the area is inactive and despite all our efforts we have been unable to get it into activity, or even make contact with anyone in it who himself could be activated. So we took the petition out knocking door to door. I went out one Saturday afternoon with this comrade, we filled two petitions incidentally but in the process of doing this we turned up about seven people who can possibly be interested in joining the CCF. Two of the six were already completely convinced CCFers. We intend to go out again while the petition is still hot—they don't have to be in until February 15th and see if we can get about a score of names of interested persons whom we can work on in the next few months and possibly form a study group or club with. I have been suggesting that a couple of our comrades in one of the clubs here which is quite petty bourgeois should use the petition to go into the working class areas in the riding and see if we can turn up contacts who could be used to build up a club of a proletarian character.

Joe

Would you tell ~~XXXX~~ that I still have not heard from the Outlook about a mailing list. As a matter of fact they are still sending a bundle to Montreal which I asked them to cut off once or twice and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ haven't replied to my request for the latest copies of Labor Review. Could it be that they did not approve of my comments that I did not think it proper for one of our papers to carry the ad that appears in two or three issues promising subscribers to a list red hot racing tips. Of course not—they are probably understaffed. I have also written for sufficient copies of the new pamphlet on the Middle East they have just published so will be getting a round up letter shortly.

I had better break off here—have just received a letter from one of the boys complaining to Paul Kane that Ross hasn't been writing lately

warmest regards

Ross

February 14, 1953 ✓  
St. Valentines Day

Dear Comrade Hardy and company;

This is hardly appropriate to the date—the enclosure I mean. I have been meaning to send you this statement for sometime now but up until tonight with three or four comrades down here prohibiting me from doing anything but the most mechanical of tasks I haven't found the opportunity to work it out. I have checked the receipt book since April 20 and have found no record of receiving any payments other than for the history of the Russian Revolution which I remitted to you. I think I have recorded everything that I have sent out to you in the meantime and correctly I hope. Of course those items marked February 13 you will not have received by the time you receive this note. Let me know if there is any error in the statement. I am hoping that we can make some starts to cut this rather considerable amount down, although I can imagine that your recent arrival may make this rather difficult.

How do we make out with the pamphlets? You have never let me know how successful the technique is—of course I guess noword in means that it is going along well. Den you put more copies of anything to good use. What was the score on the Fable Comig World Showdown campaign? I was hoping that we could circulate this most important pamphlet on a much wider basis than our comrades—out among our comrades friends and elements in the CCF who are leftists and friendly to us. I suppose you got the various letters that were sent out on the campaign we held here in Ontario and the work that several other points did on it. I have got into the habit of carrying a couple with me wherever I go. We sold over 50 here and last Sunday I sold another three. Are all the comrades buying the pamphlets as they come out are are you building up a bit of a stock which we will be able to ~~with~~ distribute over a period of time? Am I sending you enough copies or too many. I would appreciate it if you would drop us a line next time you have a chance.

I haven't checked through the internal bulletins and how we stand on this but I thought that after all you can have too much of one thing in any letter.

I am enclosing receipts for the last two money orders—thanks. It is good to see that you are managing to keep this coming on a regular basis. I suppose Hugh has been some help in this. We have been making out not too badly over the last period even though we are operating close to the line. It looks like shortly we will have to put on a limited campaign to ease of the pressure, give us a little more elbow room. Besides we are duty bound to give some more and more extensive aid to our Bolivian comrades. The situation is most favourable there for us—the revolution is developing along the classic lines of the October Revolution with the time schedule being somewhere between the February Revolution and the October Revolution.

I received Krontstadt and the Year One of the ER ok. Thanks. I hope you found them valuable for the education of the branch.. Anytime you need material for educational do not hesitate to drop us a line....we will probably have some material th at will be quite pertinent to the class.

I hope that sometime you will find the time to write us how you see things after a year and a half of CCF work.

warmest regards

Paul

(Kare)



February 23, 1953 ✓

*Dunsmuir (Vancouver)*  
Dear Hugh;

Sorry to be so long in taking up your letter. Have been trying to get around to it for the past two weeks but dozens of things have got in the way. Jimmy has been coming down to the office for the past week taking up time in conversations—it so happens valuable ones for things are opening up in Packinghouse, and yesterday afternoon for instance was taken up by a long and friendly visit from Harry Hatfield. Possibly you have heard of him, an ex-Lovestonite, president of the South York CCF and I think also of the Toronto area CCF council. Sold him Bevan's book and the Pablo pamphlet.

But to clear aside a few of the details. I have just sent you a bundle of books. Unfortunately we have none of those that you asked for on hand now...sold out. I am trying to get some more Bending Cross from Pioneer. Left Right and Center if we are able to get any more will have to be at its publication price. But I have made up a fair good bundle of books anyway and have slipped in a catalogue. If you have read any of them it should be easy to sell them to some comrade. There is one important book I almost sent on—Agrarian Socialism by Lipset but it costs \$5. Everyone of our comrades should read it. It is the most valuable book that I have read on Canada. It is a study of the Populist movements in the West and an analysis of why it went to the CCF. There is a great deal on the problems that confront the first CCF government and the strivings of the membership to meet these problems. I would say that the book is a centrist work—it has many references to Pioneer books.

Thanks for Allen's address. I will write him in a few days to see if he would like me to send him some well wrapped literature. I have been sending the odd letter to Don and of course all the bulletins and circular letters but I haven't heard from him for a considerable period. Of course he never ever did write. Last few notes it appeared that the heat was being put on him to come into the CCF by local activists. They are probably both in by now. I have noted your data on the tape recorder. As soon as the gang start to go over to Buffalo again ~~immediately~~ we will get information on prices. In the meantime I am fairly broke, that is aside from the Money I loaned to Bath and Vern. Spent my last fifty dollars buying a 1926 edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica which I am going to make a case for to be kept in the office for anyone's use. We should have had one years ago...but then I didn't have any money.

And now to take up some of the problems in Vancouver which you outline. I am glad to get your information for if Wells is sending in all reports at any rate it isn't enough for the center to get the feel of things. Reg hasn't written for many months and aside from the letter of yesterday Bill hadn't written for about a year. For instance we never have heard from any source what became of the Pablo campaign in Vancouver. All we know is that no more than 15 copies were sent out. ~~Wells send~~ Wells send in the minutes of two meetings, they span the period when several letters on the campaign went out and nothing is said in these minutes about what Van decided to do. Since neither Bill nor Reg took exception to the proposal when it came up in the club executive minutes we assume they agreed and went ahead with the project. As you know it is idle to talk about a campaign if Van doesn't participate. Without Van the reports with which we hope to inspire isolated comrades just phizzle out and the campaign is a fiasco. Perhaps the opinion of Van is that a campaign such as was visualized ~~from the center~~ because of specific problems confronting them was not feasible, perhaps it is thought to endanger our orientation which would probably hold good for Toronto too. If this was Van opinion we need this opinion, perhaps Toronto something which would endanger all our work.

k

What I find most irresome about this incident and which in my opinion bodes ill for our future development as a Bolshevik group is that it seems that a decision was taken but it wasn't to my knowledge a formal decision taken by the group, with opinions weighed and balanced around a formal motion.

I don't think we need to be sticklers for formalities—but in my opinion there are certain formalities that should be observed so that the group as it is presently constituted doesn't get into slovenly habits, petty-bourgeois, gossipy, each man-go-his-own-way, habits which are demoralizing—and so that new elements who are attracted to us do not get a bad training. We have a certain concept as to how a party must be built and what we now have is the nucleus of this party. Then the nucleus should conduct itself to the extent that objective conditions permit in harmony with this concept of ours. If for some reasons ~~unknown~~ we malfunction as a Bolshevik group those who understand the need for a Bolshevik group have thrust upon themselves the task to develop an atmosphere conducive for the development of Bolshevik relations and conduct. What should be should always be in the air so that when for reasons beyond our control we contravene this measure the measure itself is always there unquestioned, unchallenged and what we have done is understood to have been done because of factors beyond our control etc.

I note that there is no executive there. Off hand I don't see that we really need one if we meet regularly and if when some emergency crops up between meetings there is some sort of intelligent contacting done with a leading or leading comrades. The group is small and so to some extent I think it might be somewhat artificial to strike off an executive. An executive might be organizationally top heavy. But I do not think that formal meetings at regular intervals should be considered organizational top heaviness. My own opinion is that one of the best possible things you could do for the movement while you are out there enjoying the sunny climate of Vancouver would be to help the group set itself a certain organizational formality and regularity.

The matter of age differences, differences in political maturity, differences in personal responsibilities, these all effect personal integration, personal relations, ability to devote time to the movement etc. I think your little project to give those who want and who need closer personal relations, relaxation and enjoyment with comrades is a good one. No doubt this will improve personal relations among the comrades, besides providing us with an avenue to attract some sympathizers closer to us. The older comrades will possibly find their way to them ...but it is no matter if they don't. But these differences of age and social attitudes should effect nothing of any importance other than social relations. The political work of the branch, making decisions on work together and in close consultation with one another, educating one another takes place in the branch meetings and this should develop in my opinion on a formal and regular basis.

I think you should try and convince the comrades to meet regularly, at a minimum every other week. At these meetings those comrades who through a knowledge of the experiences of our class understand the need for a Bolshevik party should go out of their way, and even artificially if necessary, to create an atmosphere conducive to Bolshevik relations and discipline. It is possible that the majority agreed that it was not advisable to take up the Pablo pamphlet campaign in Van. Then there should be a formal motion containing reasons that are voted on and recorded in the minutes. We have now coming up a fund drive. There are contacts to be seen. This should be attended to formally, with assignments, reports when the item comes up on the agenda each meeting. In the minutes that we have so far received there have appeared no ~~decisions~~ decisions on our CCF work, decisions involving the conduct of our comrades, why line they should take on various problems confronting them. I do not believe that comrades should be hamstrung, their initiative curbed by having to wait on all occasions for a branch directive. But there are ~~no~~ no doubt differences amongst us, in evaluating situations and possibilities and so it is in my opinion a good thing for the most responsible comrades occasionally to go out of their way to lay the cards out before the branch, asking for their specific

direction. I have to laugh somewhat when I am telling you this for we do not do so well down here. There are a small group of comrades who really want to be free agents and when the branch raises any matter immediately put on airs of being injured, that they are not trusted, that we don't have confidence in them. This is of course not at all the question. We have a party because we need one to advise, experience. Murray and I are really going out of our way to bring the problems confronting us in our OCF and in Murray's trade union work before the branch, specifically asking for endorsement of a report—for approval. Raising the questions and making a motion that such a line be followed and calling for a vote on the motion etc. etc.

I think you know that this problem of functioning as a disciplined group has for long plagued Vancouver. Imagine a leading comrade appearing at a national convention without having read the convention documentation....the documentation was never formally discussed or voted on at the branch. None of the three delegates had read the material...in fact the secretary wrote that there were no issues confronting the party and they would have no delegates. This is serious enough but it becomes even more serious when the whole nature of our work, the milieu of our operations throws each of us more than ever on his own. This mass movement war is extremely dangerous, in some ~~mass~~ clubs the atmosphere is very demoralizing, in others treacherous (a good number of centrists in the ~~the~~ club). The very nature of our work now compels us to draw closer to one another, to lean on one another's experiences more than ever, to tighten our Bolshevik discipline, tighter than it was before.

I understand that there is a bit of a clash between Bill and Reg, a clash in temperament. Such a clash between the best and most able comrades tends to take decisions out of the branch with comrades who have problems consulting the one whom they have the most confidence in for leads in their work. These comrades should turn this back into the club and we should help them to do so. I understand that the CCF provincial convention is shaping up. We should have a discussion on what we hope to do at this convention, what we would like and what is possible, what resolutions we will try to present. These resolutions should be presented to the club for discussion and approval. I think that it might be a good idea to hand over educational work to Gordon but it will have to be done in some way so everyone feels that it is not an affront to Bill—it will help G—develop. You mention an organizer and how Barry when he took it on was loaded on with detail work. I don't know exactly what organizer involved in Van. Since we are in the mass movement I don't see what it would involve other than to keep in touch with developments in comrades work between meetings, seeing if they need any advice, checking up on attendance and even this latter could be the secretary's job. It is only when a branch doesn't function on a regular and disciplined basis that an organizer gets loaded—in a sense gets all the work thrust on his shoulders. Once the branch gets operating properly his job is to see that the work gets done, not do it all himself, see that things don't slip by, that opportunities for pushing our ideas are not missed etc.

Les has come in and gone and it is now 10 after 5 and we meet this evening so I must close off. I had meant to give you a picture of some of the latest developments but I should also get a letter out for everyone to hear about them. There were a few personal tid-bits that I think you might like to hear but will have to leave them till later. Let's have the second instalment

warmest regards

Ross

I see another February 12 has passed by

March 11, 1953 ✓

M = Maurice

Dear Joan and Don;

Well, what gives.

Dont let the bourgeoisie turn you completely into a money making machine. Come on, take a little, just a little, time off, and write us a letter.

I suppose you received the bound NEW Course. I suppose you have been receiving the various internal bulletins, pamphlets and newspapers that I have been forwarding to your address. Now I will raise the embarrassing question as to whether you have taken time out to read them. The Pable pamphlet (Coming World Showdown) is perhaps the best pamphlet we have put out—you must read this one together. The Militant has been good of late—and not just because I have been feeding them an item about every other issue—Cannon's speeches on the situation in America and the prospects of the revolution were terrific—I hope you get the Militant.

Have you been able to drop the extra copies of things that I have mailed you over to M's? What does he have to say for himself? I am hoping that he will give us a hand in raising funds for Bolivia. Will you handle this or do you want me to write him. I think that the letters are pretty good things to show him—particularly the one from Europe. It should give him the inspiration that I thought he needed when last in your town. Here is a revolution developing in the classic pattern of Russia—with the Bolsheviks of today in a most favorable position. I have just sent them a first instalment of forty dollars to let them know that we got their appeal and that we are right in there behind them. Too bad we are not in a position yet to make a public issue of this inspiring development but we have made a little start. There is a paper coming out that covers the eastern Forerunners members of the mass movement. It is published by the youth movement that Myer and Ken are doing a good job in. Myer has submitted an item on Bolivia for the next issue along with another one attacking the revisions of the Criminal Code.

Have they finally put you to the wall and are you members of the "Windsor club. I happened to be thumbing through the Ontario CCF paper the other day and noticed that there seems to be a fairly active CCYM there. Perhaps you haven't heard of its activities—its often that way that those on the spot don't hear of things. The Windsor club of the CCYM—reporter Les Rickinson—appears to be holding every other week Discussion Circles at the CCF H 11 188 Pitt Street. On March the 25th they discuss What is the real difference between Communism and Socialism. On April 8 Has union participation in politics affected CCF policy, April 22 Is Pacifism the answer to War and so forth. Sounds like it would certainly be worthwhile investigating. At least we will be finding some people our own age around the movement. I was out doing some membership renewal work last week for our club and I will swear that of the 9 persons I saw and talked to and signed on again there wasn't one younger than 60 years.

What's new on your jobs. I was around visiting an old time friend of ours a few weeks ago and found that he is now vice-president of the big Frigidaire local here—its GM-UAW. Murray may be doing your way shortly—his local is UAW you know and will be sending delegates to some conference that is being held shortly in Windsor. He is doing a very good job in the local—the shop paper that he is putting out is very very good. I would send you a copy but ~~the manuscript~~ I just mailed the last copy that he gave me to the candidate our riding is running. I wrote up a short item and Murray got it in the paper.

The most interesting development in our work has been around the recent convention of the Toronto and Area clubs of the mass movement. I would give you details but I have just about finished writing them up quite fully for ~~their~~ circulation to every one—sufficient to say we played quite an influential role. Through the work of one of the boys in a CCF club together with the efforts our our packinghouse duo we have made considerable strides in PAC in that local. Jim is PAC secretary and we have been able to lay out a fairly good line of action which will prepare the ground for an attempt to really rouse the political consciousness of packinghouse workers when the elections come around this October. It now looks fairly definite that the federal elections will not be till the Fall.

What are your plans for the Easter holiday? I dont think we would have any trouble putting the two of you up. Jim's place should be finished by then and anyway Barry and Shibley have room

write us the next opportunity you have

warmest regards

Ross



March 31, 1953 ✓

Dear Spencer;

It seems hardly possible that almost a month and a half has slipped by since you wrote your long letter. But at anyrate here I am at last taking it up. I hope you received the receipt for the money you sent to be applied to the book account. I needed it to meet some of our bills here as I have been ploughing back what profits there have been into the building up of a stock, which I must say is now pretty well rounded. This month I think that we are not far off paying the rent, a record. I am glad to hear that what I have been sending has met your approval. The odd items such as Plekhanov on Anarchism I figured some comrade would want—it is good to have our material widely scattered. Usually in a group of comrades there is some one who is flush for books and who provides the rest with the opportunity to read material that they would otherwise not get. I am only now picking this note up again—April 5—after spending much time at the Ontario CCF convention and sending you a few more items to circulate which you will be receiving in a day or so.

Possibly you have been wondering about only receiving one copy each of Nos 1,2, and 3 of the SWP bulletin. We here as you must have gathered from the minutes think there is little value in sending all the SWP internal stuff out to everyone. I sent you, Blake, and FR, copies then only later realized that we had agreed to send sufficient for everyone where we had a group—so you got the bundle somewhat latter. There is another bulletin out but we have decided to circulate it on the same limited basis

Shortly after you wrote Ruth dropped us a line about the handling of the Pablo pamphlet and I took advantage of the situation to write a letter which I suggested could well be taken up with the committee. She brought my attention to the introduction and mentioned that the matter had been twice discussed and that there had been a tacit understanding and agreement not to circulate it because of the introduction possibly prejudicing our work. I wrote her that we had tried as she knew through the circular letters to set this off on a campaign basis and that the unexplained absence of you out there in the campaign defeated the whole purpose of the campaign which was to overcome the centripetal tendencies that inevitably develop in the process of such work as we are now carrying on etc. I did not deal with the matter as to whether the introduction was dangerous or not but asked why was this matter not brought to the attention of the center for it would seem reasonable that the introduction ~~was~~ would have as dangerous implications for our work as yours—possibly more so since the situation has also seemed to be somewhat more favorable for us out there. I suggested that we should in the future handle ~~them~~ such matters on a more business like basis. Since the matter of the campaign was first discussed and agreed upon in the executive and we heard no word from Blake or yourself we thought everything was agreeable. As soon as the matter came to the attention of the club in advance of the date set for the campaign the matter should have been formally discussed and decided upon so that any clarification necessary could be made, so changes if necessary could be made, instead of letting it drift from meeting to meeting from correspondence to correspondence until the whole thing is over.

Incidentally I might say that we did notice the introduction alright and on this basis circulated the pamphlet on a limited basis—we did not take it into the clubs on any open scale, for instance I ~~was~~ thought that there were only two people in my club who could grasp it and who would not be frightened by my selling it to them. The overwhelming bulk of the pamphlets sold here were to our periphery, to such persons as Stan, Don, Fitts Lloyd Muriel Charlie Lefty etc out there, Eve Weaver etc etc.

I hope there was some kind of discussion on my letter and that in the future we will work these things in closer consultation with one another.

I have read what you have to say about Hugh's membership. He has not written me about it

the meeting you mention he was to have with the executive but possibly he is waiting for a letter from me as I owe him one from somewhere back. ~~Yakovlev was supposed to come to the meeting~~. Not being on the spot I am unable to venture an opinion as to whether you are right in your urging postponement of the interview or not. These matters are rather ticklish ones and we are sadly lacking in information down here of actually how things are developing out there. At anyrate I assume that his deciding to go before the executive at this time was taken in agreement with the club or if this was not possible due to some emergency in close consultation and agreement with the leading comrades. The work we are doing by its very nature tends to throw comrades on their own to a considerable degree and I think we should make every effort because of the dangers that come from this to keep firm Bolshevik relations with one anchor and control of the situation. Of course the more experienced comrades have to set the example and educate the younger comrades to the need and correctness and value of this. When here Hugh was one of the best in working closely through the club, bringing his problem before it for decisions. Unfortunately he had a rather unfortunate experience with Paddy and another comrade in Massey Harris when we had this fraction and were trying to work as an effective one—Paddy is a great guy for going his own way

I heartily subscribe to your comments that we must debate these things as a group—between ourselves and Toronto too, before action---I hope you have been able to get a fairly accurate picture of what we ~~are~~ doing and how we see the tasks down here from the circular letters that have been sent out. The one of last month might well be worth your ~~comment on~~ your making comments on. We would welcome anyone's opinion. There are a couple of paragraphs that are going to be taken up in future branch discussions here in that document. The one that deals with the question of how we deal with the question of Stalinism and the USSR when we come across it in the mass movement and the other that paragraph which makes a few generalizations on how we present our position on war. I am hoping this week will give me enough time to write up a report of the Ont convention and the role played by our three delegates and three alternates.

Do not raise too much hell about reports but we haven't received anything from Thorne for many many months, the last minutes we received were I think January, probably Lovette is doing her best to keep us in the picture. We received her first letter in a log while just a month or so ago but she promises to make every effort to keep in closer contact. What we really need of course—and I am aware that it is somewhat of a large order as you say—is an attempt to evaluate the past period of work, how we see things developing in the next period, our relations with whatever leftist forces there are, what issues we are pushing forward, what contacts we have made, possibilities of recruitment etc. We need such a report even if it is only a sketchy one, and not a very good one—as matter of fact if some one were to take a stab at it it might provoke several other attempts on the parts of other comrades.

I am rather interested in your comments re clubs and constituency organizations—Reg somewhere back in one of his documents made much of an apparent change from one to the other although I never ever did quite get the importance of it all. Here in Toronto in every federal riding but the one that I work in there happens to be only one club which thus at the same time is the constituency organization. In the area that I am working we have two clubs each of which meet once a month carrying on their own work but every once in a while they call a constituent meeting—for instance when we nominated our candidate for the coming riding—and I understand that they are planning a constituent meeting to discuss the just over convention. Here in Ontario you are actually a member of the provincial section, you then attach yourself to a club, any club, usually one nearby your home. I attend the meetings of both clubs in our constituency as do many of the best activists but when it comes to membership work etc I work mainly in one of them

I see there is some little difference on the anxiety of Thorne and Lovett to get their memberships. I do not know many of the particulars of their case but I gather I am in about the same boat. I am rather anxious to get my membership—without it I am compelled to play a considerably more cautious role than I would if I had it—your political style is cramped—you always feel that you cannot afford to antagonize anyone because they then might become opponents of your membership—you are always on trial. Without your membership you are always sort of on the outside. Since most members are inactive much of the work is

done and most of the decisions made by the executive from which we are excluded if we are not members. Actually very little work is done through the club meetings in the area I am working—it is practically all through the executive. If it wasn't for the fact that the leading member in this club is very friendly towards me and anxious for my opinion I would without membership be completely on the outside. To not have a membership makes your ideas and yourself somewhat suspect. For instance I was nominated by one of the members who I recruited to be a delegate to the convention. I had to decline and explain to him that the present leaders of the movement whom on the basis of his experience he has the highest respect for had in their wisdom refused me a membership. I am anxious to get my membership and in fact the club I am in is anxious that I should not be a second class citizen. Following the refusal on Murray's application we decided to hold mine up—to a considerable degree upon the request of my good friend with whom I work who asked that I not put him on the spot on the top committee. He suggested that I hold it up till following the convention were he hoped there would be a change in the top committee for the better. This change has not taken place. I am in no position to demand membership, other than the fact that I have proved myself to be a hard worker for the movement and that the club wants my membership accepted, which should be sufficient, but I think I should petition for it. I think that I should present it and ask for a hearing. To not do so means it seems to me to be telling these people that we accept this outrageous second class citizenship. What harm is done if we appear before them and they still refuse it, particularly if we conduct ourselves well as I gather Thorne certainly did. I think that it is really outrageous that they refuse us membership, the best elements in the club think likewise. While we are not in a position to get it should we demand it nonetheless I think that we should demand it. After all we have responsibility to our ideas, self respect. I intend to raise this matter at the next executive meeting and I would like to have your opinion. This is a matter of some importance—three of our most able most experienced comrades are on the outside—and in the case of two of them who have not struck the connection that I have they are really on the outside. This is a crippling blow at our rather meagre forces.

one of

I am enclosing ~~some~~ the clippings on the recent convention held here. We had a sizeable delegation—4 delegates and two alternates. There is another clipping that quotes Mc Alpine on a resolution that was opening the door for the party to drop its nationalization of the banking institutions. In keeping with the line sketched out in the recent document you received we did not try to hit the floor on international questions but tried to develop a shabby class line on domestic issues. The only thing we had to say on the war danger was a contribution to the discussion on the federal election program where we raised objection to the fact that it calls for a policy of collective security through the UN which we pointed out was the Liberal policy remarking that we and our leaders had taken positions favoring China recognition, opposition to the NATO commitments etc and that these in our opinion should find their place on the program. There was nothing here on conscription—as a matter of fact down here it is hardly an issue at all, I am wondering if this is the time of question we can best fight on. I am sure everyone would be much interested to see the resolution. How did you handle it—that we are not opposed to the defence of Canada but this is hardly threatened with Cdn troops over in Germany where they have no business being or what. What did the comrades think of the type of resolution that we outlined in the last circular letter which we prepared for the city and provincial conventions. At this convention we took a line not worrying about placing resolutions and amendments but of contributing to the discussion on those resolutions that lent themselves to a strong class—in this way promoting a general leftist orientation, developing our own people, presenting them as spokesman for left ideas.

I had better get this off before it gets delayed again. Thanks for the very informative letter—I hope that you can ~~next~~ in the future manage to find time to send us one every so often. Of course it went the rounds of the executive who were much interested. Give our regards to your family.

fraternally

Ross



April 13, 1953 ✓

Dear Jean-Marie

The club has asked me on their behalf to write you a note expressing their sympathy.

When you come to write such a note as this you then readily understand why on such occasions the majority resort to the use of commercial cards. What can one person say to another--regardless of the degree of freindship and intimacy, at such a time. None of us knew your mother, nor can any of us really know what she meant to you, your brothers and your father, except through the knowledge of our own mothers. Since Mrs D. died only a year ago and has scarcely slipped back from immediacy into what is called memory the Dowsons certainly feel with poignancy how you must feel and we extend the sympathy which you extended to them.

Speaking for myself, I am glad that you spared Lois the agony of that ritualistic remnant of man's barbaric past that attended your mother's funeral. And I sincerely hope that you who went through it in tribute to your mother and in respect of her friends and relatives did not find it too trying.

Looking forward to seeing you on the next week and that you come west.

Enclosed you will find an interesting item I culled out of this morning's paper--this is Murray's work of course.

fraternally

Ross

April 14, 1953 ✓

Montreal  
Dear Louis; + Ken

(Sutherland?)

Jean hit your fair city a few weeks ago and attempted without success to see you. He is working for a period in Cornwall but it is possible that he will be unable to get into town again for some period (his mother died last week and he may be unable to take time off again before the job is finished there) Therefore this note and its enclosure.

The enclosure speaks for itself. If it weren't for the picture of our present work we would carry a public campaign to raise aid. This is a new experience for us—usually we are in the unfortunate position of having to fight a rear-guard, a ~~defensive~~ defensive action. This is offensive and given the generally debilitated condition of the enemy full of much promise. Not so much a duty this time as ~~maximizing~~ an opportunity, eh! All of which makes it much easier for me to break the long silence between us with the request for some dough. Would you pass it on to Ken. I don't know how you fellows are fixed but every little bit helps. I have just sent one lump on and would like to send another as soon as possible. Do you have access at the paper to The United Nations News? There is an article in the March issue on Bolivia that will warm your heart. The author who is pleading for US aid against these peasants who live the most abysmal life imaginable cries that the next six months will tell the tale. The situation is hopping in Guatemala and see Peron is now on the hot seat.

Don't you ever get into the home town these days. They tore the old place out from under us and we are now at 62½ Elm street, just up from the Ford hotel. ~~Warmness~~ There is lots to tell since last seeing you. We are making considerable progress in our new arena of work. At the recent provincial convention we had seven delegates Ken gave an excellent speech and polled over 50 votes out of 180 for the provincial executive. I am rumoured to have been the man behind the scenes in the grand strategy of what at this stage passes off for a left wing. But there is little truth though some in it.

warmest regards

Ross

April 14, 1953 ✓

Dear Hugh;

Danson, (Vancouver)

Bill Whitney?

Glad to get your two letters last month. Ruth's letter was quite intelligible to us down here and we have no particular complaint. Only a complaint which could be levelled against all information received so far—one of a more fundamental nature. We need all the bits and bits of information that your and Ruth's letters contain (and I must say your letters contained much more and much more important information than Ruth's) but we need something more than that. We need an evaluation of the situation in its more broad outline, and evaluation of the past period of work, the various forces developing in the movement and how we see our task now and how we think things will develop and our role. Until we can get such a thing we tend to be work day by day. It would be very worthwhile if some one there, or if no one person there thinks he can do it, if several comrades got together and drew up a document or several documents that tried to evaluate the main trends in the movement, our relationship to these trends, our general policy now, what we hope to achieve now, and how we see our work developing in line with how we see the development of the movement as a whole. For instance what is behind Winch's resignation, what is the significance of the move against Young's nomination as a provincial candidate, what is the basis of Bill's phenomenal success in his riding, what is our relationship to the various forces in the movement—to the left at its present stage of development, etc. etc.

Without the information such as you gave in your letters why of course this bigger job can't even be begun, but what does all this interesting information mean to us?—that is the question. The last letter that went out from here to the club dealt with certain aspects of this problem—in essence it dealt with how we evaluate the level of the movement at this stage—what kind of resolutions we put forward—our role in this situation. This is of course based on our understanding of the forces that are at work in the movement, particularly the degree of consciousness of the left which we don't want to go too far in advance of and thus face the danger of being cut off and which we want to lead forward. I don't know whether you feel these letters that you have been writing are too much of a tax on you or not but I hope that you can keep them up until at least some one else takes over this responsibility. But for you I don't know whether we would ever have got the convention resolutions, at least the ones we submitted which we certainly need to have and idea of. I don't know whether it is understood by everyone that you are sending the clippings on Winch's resignation but we need this also. Some one has to take on the responsibility of keeping the N.O. in touch with the situation. I know that it shouldn't really be you, particularly as I get the impression that you look upon your stay out there as being one of short duration. I am hoping that you can in the next period convince the comrades of this need and eventually get someone to take this on. Everyone out there agrees that it should be done, intends in some way to see that it is done but it isn't done. Reg used to do it and do it exceedingly well but we haven't heard from him for a long period now.

Bill wrote me a rather lengthy letter last month and I raised the matter of your making an attempt out there of evaluating the situation ~~in a general way~~ in a general way. He replied that this was a tall order but possibly he will take a hand at it. It is even more necessary for you out there to do this for your own work than it is to do it to just ship onto us. To sit down and start to write an evaluation of the general situation is to really get down to thinking about it. I know that the paper was a great disciplining force for me, compelling me to think in a most precise way about the political problems that confront us and I sadly miss it. I think once we get down to writing about our problems we will see them much clearer and be able to act more effectively.

I do not know what effect you have had on the situation out there but I think that it has improved somewhat. For instance the taking back of the Mac's which I see you moved. Even better, the decision to do so and what ever moves that result from the decision to co-ordinate our knowledge in the drawing up of resolutions for the convention

I think that this drawing up the resolutions jointly, discussing the matter in detail and approving of the submissions is something new out there. Even the hullabaloo that Bill appears to have raised over your attending the interview ~~with~~ by the mass movements local brass, with the cries of Un-Bolshevik and that you did so without consultation with the group, regardless of their validity are very good to hear. I think we are really beginning to work out there as a group, or at the least the atmosphere is such that we are well on the way.

Glad to get straightened up on the set up out there. From here I would so that we should not press for the executive to become active. I do not see that we actually need an executive when we have only one group and meet once a week. If something comes up in between time the leading comrades can be contacted and if the matter is of such a contentious character you could even call the group together off schedule. I would think that it is hardly necessary to call for the abolition of the executive—since it really has no basis for existence it can be just allowed to die. At anyrate I see no merit in raising any shit about its inactivity. It seems to me from what you write that the meetings of the club are being conducted more formally, with things instead of just being vaguely talked about decided upon. I think that the Pablo pamphlet affair was sort of instructive to everyone—I gave Bill my opinion on this—that when it was on the national plane we should have been informed and certainly when it got to the club plane a formal decision should have been taken—I made the point that since you thought the preface was such that it would harm your work out there you certainly should have raised the matter to our attention—that it would equally stand to harm our work here and in so doing harm your efforts there too....that we are working in the same milieu. The close interrelation of our work is brought home by their stalling your membership, and probably Thorne's also in the light of what is done about our memberships down here.

Glad to hear that Reg's membership is coming up again. As soon as anything happens on this question of memberships let me know. We are discussing the problem at this end again and are seriously considering trying to force the issue. Vern's is being held up with mine and all told counting your cases out there there are seven of us in more or less the same boat—a year after the dissolution and some of our most effective forces. Bill told me of his opposition to Reg raising the matter and your seeing the committee which for the life of me I do not see how you could evade or for the life of me why we would want to evade. I have told him that in my opinion we should press for membership and have challenged him to write me his reasons why not. We are not making any moves for a couple of weeks in the expectation that we will hear from him. I haven't raised this matter in correspondence with the group for formally not having any recent minutes I am not aware that there is any dispute over this matter. But is being discussed in the tops and Reg and Bill are informed or will be as soon as Murray drops them a line.

It would be good if you could get Reg or someone to write up a report and an EVALUATION of the convention. I would give you some information on the one just held down here and the role we played but two persons here are in the process of writing it up so I won't bother. Suffice it to say that we did fairly well—sent Bill one of the clippings. We had a group of four on the floor and one of us ran for the prov executive—polling over 50 votes. I see from this morning paper Murray did a job through his local in getting the CCL council to defend the rights of the LPP to use the township schools. I will get the Star to see if there is much of a write up and he is quoted and if so will enclose it in this letter.

I hope that the developments in the south co-thinkers is not having any demoralizing effect out there. We are circulating the material but have come to a tacit agreement to block any discussion until the problem develops much more clearly—at this stage of clarity or unclarity there is no merit in our discussing it in the group and possibly having persons taking sides which latter on may prove to be wrong—it is even possible that in the process of documentation it may clear up for so far I find no principled differences. Glad to hear that you will be all getting to hear William F when he gets to the coast

W.F. Worde (George Moroch, Swp)

~~Shawards~~ I had better take up a couple of personal matters at this point if this letter is to get off tonight. I dont know what contact you have with others in the family and whether you know this or not already but we are in the process of having the old man committed to 999 Queen St. I do not see, none of us here see any alternative. He has been steadily deteriorating, he is looking after himself much much less than he ever did before. He does not belong in an institution of this type but it so happens that this rotten system doesnt have any facilities for his type that working class people could afford. I looked over 999 facilities and actually there are not too bad—at least he will eat regularly, and will be compelled to look after himself—Maybe he will be released after a period—who knows. At anyrate he cant go on as he is. I am expecting word from the authorities any day now.

Money—I do not know how you are fixed after being out of work so long. But as you know we have all been chipping in towards the costs of the old man which have been running at about \$13 a week. Everyone has been chipping in contributions of \$25 when I run out of funds to disburse. You missed one levy and another one is now up. I seem to recall that you suggested that Ruth should pay yours from what she owes you but I have not asked here to do so for I never cease hearing her wail the financial blues—and I dont want to. If you are broke let it ride for we can meet the problem alright. If you are accumulating a little capital now—well we could use the \$50. The government asks for contributions to sustain 999—I dont know what they will be but collectively we are hardly in a position to plead inability

Jean's mother died last week but you need do nothing—I sent flowers in everyone's name paid for from the general fund above. Anne<sup>1</sup> is supposed to deliver her baby today if she is on schedule. Murray and Jeanette will be leaving for Europe middle July which should be a valuable experience for us all

I will have to close off now--supper is approaching and tonight I want to get out and see if I can raise a little more money for Bolivia

warmest regards

Ross

April 21, 1953 ✓

*Maria Bédard (M)*  
Dear Jean;

I have received your two letters of the 15th and 16th

On the subject of your first letter there is really little I can say. We can only go on. I sincerely hope that your father manages to adjust himself to the new situation.

Lois was down to the office on Saturday. I did not have very much of an opportunity to talk to her as there was quite a group here including Joe Pastuch from Welland and it so happened that there was a fellow in the store who wanted to talk at great length. However I told her that in my opinion it would be quite valuable for you if you can get it to take a post on the provincial council. Since at this stage we would not intend to utilize the post to advance in any particular way our ideas the question of our getting the post through the good will of someone like True and not a conscious political force in the club is of little matter. The big use of it in the next period would seem to me keeping us in touch with what is going on in the movement. There is one question that is coming up that it would be valuable to have some strong inside support on, it would be valuable to have someone who could state the case clearly and give spirit to silent elements on the council, and that is my membership. I agree with you on the question of the Toronto council—this is an activist committee and your being out of town so much would render you incapable of functioning. So Lois said she would see what she could do to get you on the council—I gather that several members have spoken to her about your speech that was written up in the paper—they were favorably impressed—so it is highly possible that you would be nominated.

I just finished speaking to Lois over the phone—she tells me that the whole question has been postponed until the next meeting due to the pressure of other items on the agenda. Possibly you will be here in the flesh for the next meeting which should make it all the more probable that you would be nominated. That fellow at whose home you dropped me off several weeks ago came out to the meeting and Lois has him lined up for a distribution. The nominations are taking place on Monday. I think we have a very good contact there. The only reason that I could think of that could possibly have prevented him from joining our former set-up was fear—that we were isolated small and fated to be persecuted.

I got it—I got it—it came through like one of Marciano's knockout blows—your interpretation of Ladd having a local Textile speaker on Sunday is to keep you off the platform. That is his loss! I can certainly see that if you don't take the papermakers that the IWA is in for a lot of trouble—~~papermakers~~ even with them you inherit trouble—it's part of the fruit of raiding. You must have to pay in some way for the loss that a raid takes than starting from scratch on unorganized workers. But now that we are there and up to our neck in it I certainly do care very much about the outcome CIO or AFL. I hope the IWA wins hands down if only for the fact that you are in on it. I doubt that a defeat will teach the bureaucrats anything—they didn't learn from Wirebound.

I am sending via parcel post what we have on pulp and paper. Not much but there are some interesting items. Keep your hands on it tight—I hate like hell to let these things out of the office. Nothing new on Barry—the poor guy was taking shit from Shirley the other night as he was talking to her about the paper. I have a few more of the little folders on Ireland, England and France. Jeanette is even developing a little anth



thusiasm. Anne' (Vern's wife) has had her baby---a girl, 8 pounds and they are quite happy. Jim and Kitt are riding the crests---the apartment will be finished by Friday, they have been purchasing furniture and sort of celebrating a second honeymoon---the baby is up at her mothers. Too bad you wont be able to make it this week-end. William F. is expected to be here from the south. Not too definte yet

fraternally

Ross





continuation-----

(certainly at this stage)

Of course there is no merit on our comrades taking sides in the southern dispute--all we can hope to do is to learn something from it all. So far I must say I have learnt little I am rather suprised in view of the considerable time that it has been going on the the various branches that the southern leadership has proven unable to put it onto a principled plain--although no doubt some must think they have. In this sense our dispute was a model to behold. It rumbled and boiled for quite a while but periodically we were able to make it concrete before the party--for instance whether we should support the CCF or the LPP in ~~British~~ Trinity and Cartier and finally on the question of questions the renty into the mass movement. Thanks to Hansen ~~and another comrade~~ who is now pulling a line together for the minority from corridor conversations (which I think is quite justifiable) the lines were blurred over at the convention committing us to a modified and irritating straggle here for another year and ~~existing~~ leaving a rather bad atmosphere Too bad "the most advanced and able comrades" in Seattle are in a minority in the Seattle branch.. I think it is right that we in Vancouver should show our affinity with them--particularly when ~~the~~ the differences are expressed in some concrete task before the branch upon which we could be expected to hold an intelligent position. But I myself am not too sure about "firmly but not obnoxiously defend(ing) the line of the Cannon axis." To me the Cannon line as against the minority line is not at all really clear. yet. Possibly it is clearer to you out there where you can see its line-up in a branch--I have only been a reader of documents in which a group of able and leading comrades say that so and so and so is the line of another group of able comrades which they ~~are holding~~ in turn firmly deny is their line. At anyrate we can afford for a while to tread lightly. No one here seems to be perturbed at all...as a matter of fact there is very little discussion. Everyone buys the bulletins and must read them over but hardly anyone says anything. I dont know what is going to develop with Wm F here though. He will be accompanied by some Buffalo comrades who I think are minority so possible little will be said on this matter

It is good to hear that you and Bill are getting down to putting some of your experiences and opinions on paper. We need badly the benefit of your experiences, furthermore our work is even more closely tied in to one another than ever before. Hugh's membership I understand is being held off until the brass there hears what is done down here with mine. The fact that you had been refused came up in the discussion and was used as a justification for refusing Murray. This makes ~~the situation~~ ~~the situation~~, particularly since things are very quiet in it is a very difficult one to work in, our experience is so limited. Furthermore we dont have the paper which was a terrific unifying force both politically and organizationally--the very nature of the work is full of political dangers (the 1938 entry costs us a comrade or two to centrism). We need contact with one another as we never needed it before.

I hope that the circular letters that we have been sending out have been of value I was hoping that they would provide the basis for a really fruitful exchange of information and views. What have the comrades had to say about them, have they provoked any discussion, disagreements or have the just been filed away as interesting information? They have sort of pettered off in the last while for lack of material to deal with. Ruth's last report was quite informative as have been Hugh's but in my opinion they are not exactly what we want--it is good to hear that so and so is working in here and someone else ~~is working in here~~ has taken this post but what has been lacking is material on how we see things developing, what we are trying to do in there, what forces we are working with, what questions and how we are pushing forward, what we expect or hope to achieve etc etc.

I am afraid that I cannot much as I would like to award you the grand prize for detection. There is no feeling on our apart at all that "perhaps you are succumbing to timidity and missing opportunities for political work" or that your "approach to the tasks of entry and adjustment are too timid and we (you) strive to appear non political." I agree with all the generalizations that follow this paragraph about getting in, staying in, even with the comment "That we recognize that very little solid political work can be done at this time." ~~What does this last sentence mean.~~ I would only like it that this was all a little more concrete. What does this last sentence mean. What are we doing? Frankly I dont know.

I have tried to tell the group what we are doing down here, what we are doing in the concrete...and this is where these generalisations have meaning. ~~Maybe~~ your detection of undertones, ~~doesn't~~ come from disagreeing with what we are doing down here, perhaps? maybe? For for the life of me I cannot recall writing anything that would lead you to think such a thing. For now that you raise the matter of what I may possibly think I will confess all and with no punches pulled, tell you all that I think about this. A very easy task for in keeping with the information at my disposal my thoughts are quite limited. Ruth wrote in a recent letter ~~xxxx~~ to the effect that we were having a hard time escaping from having to accept credentials to the provincial convention. I could see no reason in the world why, if the persons in the club that we are working want us to, we should not be delegates to the convention. And I think that I asked her why and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ stated my belief that we should take credentials. Another incident---I understand from Bill that he is in strong disagreement with you and Ruth pushing for your membership. I expressed ~~fx~~ views to the effect that I was strongly in favor of my pushing for my membership, giving in detail ~~xx~~ why I thought this was necessary. And another incident upon which I have until now expressed no opinion. How we see things would of course be expressed by what we intended to do at the provincial convention. Hugh wrote me that Bill is presenting a resolution attacking conscription. I never have seen the resolution but I think I would be opposed to our presenting such a resolution at this time...as not being in keeping with our evaluation of the situation in the mass movement. Conscription is no issue right now. Off hand I could only see such a resolution as putting forward a pacifist position or as putting forward our views of revolutionary defeatism. It is certainly not timely for us to express the view that we are not interested in the defence of Canada, bourgeois Canada but for the socialist revolution and for the defence of the USSR. I am doubtful if a pacifist resolution would get to first base in this day of militarism and also doubtful of the merit if it should. You can readily see that my opinion of our work out there if it were formed on this latter situation would be far from that you were timid....it would be that you are going too far and too fast. In a subsequent letter from Hugh I gather that the resolution was not anti-conscription but calling for the withdrawal of the troops from Korea. We wouldn't go that far here I think but I could see that this might be quite a satisfactory, a good resolution for BC where the situation is generally more left.

*So don't take it hard*

So you see your detecting is not too good on this case---but even Sherlock Holmes had to have some evidence to work on. Surely you know me better than that old man. I am not given to subtleties. I am looking forward with the greatest anticipation to your and Bill's draft---which I am sure will not lead to disagreements so much as it will clear the air a little and aid us in our work. Would you send me a copy of the resolution that Bill put forward.

There have been some very interesting developments following the Toronto area convention---particularly around the provincial convention where we had 5 or 6 delegates. Bill probably showed the gang the clipping I sent him which gave a big play to the excellent speech Jean made on Bill 93. One of the boys ran for provincial executive and polled over 50 votes there were over 180 delegates and about 85 were needed to get in but it was a good show. I went go into the details of the experiences gained there as two of the younger comrades are in the process of drawing up a report for circulation. They promise me that it will be done by Saturday of this week so it should be in your hands quite ~~soon~~ soon.

Thanks for the details on the Winch affair---the whole thing was incomprehensible on the basis of the information gleaned from the press. The Pacific Tribune has been playing footsie with Social Credit and supporting the strategy of Winch which on the basis of information here I would say was correct---stalling for time to defeat the government when it was most advantageous to us. But they took a complete flip-flop when Winch resigned.

Incidentally as soon as you are able would you write us the results of the meeting on your status being held April 26. We are on the verge of taking some decisions with regards to my membership and what happens to yours of course will figure large in our decisions. I am for an offensive line on this matter---indignantly demanding our membership be accepted. I am one of the top membership getters in the Toronto area....they have even gone to the extent of giving me a pseudonym in the circular that is going out to all membership campaign workers.

They are fairly certain to refuse my application but having never even submitted it I am in a rather ridiculous position and we have no reason to believe that it would effect my relations in the club I am working in. Besides there is a possibility that they may accept it—the elections are coming on, they need able workers, ~~xxxxxx~~ a year has gone by since the dissolution .

But I must get this on its way. I have some work to do for this evenings educationals —alternate meetings we are holding a sort of round table on Canadian History--tonight we deal with Confederation and Canada's Industtrial Revolution....and I must do some refreshing—it's now 4 o'clock.

Looking forward to more correspondence

warmest regards

Ross

April 30, 1953 ✓  
May Day tomorrow

(-7)  
Dear Hardy;

Received the money order for \$45 for April this morning—and many thanks.

I am replying right away in order to straighten up any misunderstandings that may develop further on the basis of your misunderstanding of the handling of a recent sum of \$31.50 received at this end.

On March 7th 1953 I received \$31.50 which I have entered as a payment on the literature account. I believe that some weeks previously I had written asking for a payment on the outstanding amount. I think that the receipt for that amount was forward somewhere back ~~xxxxxx~~ and that it was clearly marked as a payment on the literature account. The receipt was I believe sent to either Hardy or Spencer

1 On April 19th 1953 I received two money orders from George Hill. His instructions were that " \$31.50 is a definite assignment to the POR ." I sent him a receipt for this amount plus another 114.00. Along with the receipt I dropped him a note which read in part; "You can assure everyone that the \$31.50 marked POR will find its way into the proper hands---into the hands of those who appear in one of the photos on the enclosed clipping." The clipping referred to was an article on Bolivia. That very day the \$31.50 was forwarded on its way via money order no. 67,385,451

Since the receipt of the last mentioned \$31.50 there has been no statement sent out from the center on financial contributions so that no credit could be given by any other means than the receipt sent to George Hill

I have not on any occasion used money designated by its forwarders for a specific purpose for any other purpose, nor do I ever intend to do so. I know that all the monies forwarded have been gathered together with considerable effort and signify a considerable sacrifice on the part of most donors. ~~For that reason not only I am supremely careful in expending it but also in following the expressed desires of the donors and keeping an accurate accounting of it.~~ For that reason not only I am supremely careful in expending it but also in following the expressed desires of the donors and keeping an accurate accounting of it. No doubt the confusion on this occasion which has lead to certain speculations arises from the fact that there have been by co-incidence two donations for the same amount. I hope that the above straightens ~~xxxx~~ the matter up and the information will be made known to anyone who has expressed concern over the matter.

Received a two line known from Blake that we are now formally accepted—congratulations. It should be a big help for us down here. Looking forward to hear more about it. William F was hear over the week-end and everyone was considerably impressed to hear the details from over 'ome.

fraternally

Kene. (R.D.)

May Day 1953 ✓

Dear Bill;

(W) WAN.

I hope that you have been receiving the SWP Internal Bulletins that I have been sending your way lately. Some of the boys have been forwarding money in payment of the bulletins but over the past while others have been getting quite lax.

In the last month there ~~has~~ been a considerable batch come out hasn't there. At 50 cents, 55, and 60 cents a copy this soon mounts up and with me having to pay cash for them and on the line too I do not feel that I can manage to keep sending them out on the old basis.

I have sent the boys Vol 15 No .8. But from now on in I have hit upon a plan that should solve our difficulty. What do you say to my drawing up a list of the various bulletins listing their contents and price and letting those who want them so designate and ~~xxxx~~ send their order in, along with the cash to cover it. Fair enough, eh?

#	Vol 15 No 7 contained price .50	Propaganda Group or Independent Party--C Thomas, N.Y. The Challenge to Our Orientation--Joe Hansen, N.Y. N.Y. Local Opponents Work Report by Lou S? N.Y.	} SWP
#	Vol 15 No 9 contains price. 25	An Open Letter to Joe Hansen from a Los Angeles group The "Proof" of Our "Stalinophobia--Art Preis, N.Y.	} SWP
#	Vol 15 No 10 contains price .55	The New World Reality and the New Confusion What Hansen's Document has revealed by H. Frankel, N.Y. The 1940 Discussions with Trotsky on Stalinism	} SWP

Will keep you in touch with the situation from time to time. Quite a stimulating discussion. I hope you can keep up to-date with it as it unfolds.

warmest regards

Paul Kane.

= RD



May 4, 1953 ✓

Dear Don and Joan;

I am enclosing a letter which I think is fairly self explanatory. I wonder if you have been passing recent bulletins along to M—. I hope that you have and if you have would you show him this note. It looks like the discussion is going to be quite an extensive one and result in so many bulletins that are so expensive that instead of everyone subsidizing the center the centre would result in subsidizing everyone—from all sources that I haven't yet located.

How did you handle your report to the club upon your return?...and what kind of reception did you get. Generally speaking the convention aroused little interest in the various clubs which we are in contact with. Only a most cursory report at the East end club. At my club one of the delegates got up and gave a two minute report the essence of which was that the convention stunk, which of course was quite a lopsided picture. The reporter is a quasi Stalinist with whom I am quite friendly. Unfortunately he has quite a sectarian approach—he doesn't at all see the left developing the way I do. For him the only issues are the international questions where as my opinion is that the left is going to be developed along the line of ~~expressing~~ ~~sharp~~ class positions on domestic problems first and foremost—you know—the transitional program adopted by our ~~the~~ 1938 founding convention. My good friend William H. stepped into the breach to give a little more rounded picture of the convention, somewhat more positive. I contributed nothing for several reasons, I wasn't a delegate, I had spoken on several other matters during the meeting and I am not even a member, and that big wheel in the trade unions Murray Cotterill was waiting to speak and the chairman was all a dither that all business should be ~~shut~~ ~~dumped~~ and we could have the privilege of listening to him. And what a fraud that man Cotterill is—his talk was supposed to be on the unions and the CCF their inter-relationship. It was just a catch-all talk, there was a line however and that was that this talk about socialism is a lot of crap—we have to get the workers into the movement by going down to their present level of simple trade union consciousness—get elected at all costs, any expediency. In the process he made some sweeping and stupid attacks on Marxism not to mention the conception of the class struggle...it seems that the conflict in society is now between two groups of workers—the factory worker and the white collared administrator who after all is a worker too. I had never before had an opportunity to sit in and listen to his type attempt to develop a rounded idea...an amazingly ignorant man...a mind full of odd and ends and what a god-damn cynic. He patronizingly tipped his hat to our quasi Stalinist reporter by attempting to build up a picture of himself in days gone by as a real left winger who turned the convention up-end and ~~smashed~~ ~~rod~~ the box-cars, sacrifice after sacrifice; made wise-cracks about himself as a trade union bureaucrat. I took the floor afterwards and did a bit of a job on him—in a most comradely and gentlemanly way, following which there was considerable applause. made

I had my first real run in with Temple the other day over an attempt to get our candidate to wire Ottawa in protest to Carson's attempts to steam-roller the amendments to the criminal code before the May 14th 9th adjournment. The sitting member in our riding is on the parliamentary committee and made a special statement as to why he rejected major parts of the CCL brief. I had to meet the most stupid talist arguments only to end up leaving the matter in his hands to think over of course as I am not a member and in a position to devise any pressure to see this idea through. But yesterday I see St. Laurent announced to the house that the revisions would not go through this parliament since they were of such a controversial character and ~~the~~ ~~known~~ there had been political party alignments on them—he could see that this could well develop into the biggest single issue in the elections.



May 4, 1953 contd.

Got a call from Wm H the other day about some membership work we are doing and he told me that he had been all wrong and everything is hearts and flowers. We are doing canvassing in our riding of a select list of trade unionists. Incidentally we just received word that Ruth and Reg whom Hugh has probably written you about have been at long last accepted into the party so ~~it is not a matter of~~ there is a new light thrown on the status of my membership. Had several delegates at this past week ends youth convention but am not yet in a position to tell you how we made out

Have you made your way across the line recently—if not I think it will be more than rewarding to get Larry or someone to come over and see you. A friend of ours who has spent about 10 months in Britain and in contact with Paris has returned and by now would to a close a national tour that he made. We had two very long and extremely interesting reports here. The first was on the general situation of the world parties, the second was a detailed picture of our British work, what we have done, how we did it and how we see things developing. The latter of course was most important to us and might say particularly satisfying in that I feel that we have a good grasp of the situation here which of course is not at all unlike the situation over there. I am sure that Larry would be pleased to come over and pass on what he remembers.

I am enclosing a note for Maurice. Would you mail it to him or take a little time off to drop around to his place and give it to him and pick up the answer. I think that the latter would be best and most probable to attain the results we want. I am also going to write one for Shuste which again I think it would be best that you deliver. The situation in Bolivia is continuing to develop favorably. In a recent issue of The Socialist Outlook there was a letter from there on an insurrection that developed in the Cochabamba area. It appears that in a union in that city our comrades swept the old line leaders out of office. These bureaucrats were present government supporters so the police moved in closed down the union offices, imprisoned our comrades and planked the old liners back in office. In answer to this there was a mass invasion of peasants who took over the city and released our comrades driving the govt sponsored leaders away. On their return to their localities the peasants started to move in on the big landowners dividing the estates up amongst themselves. Our visitor told us how valuable our last year contribution of \$170 was and how badly new help is needed in this poverty stricken land—it appears that well known figures in the govt have openly stated that when the time permits they intend to murder our most prominent people. But the time does not permit and for them it is rapidly running out. I hope you can see both of them very shortly or if you are unable to do so will send the notes on. I am enclosing part of the appeal that we received which I think would be good to show them both.

Drop us a line on what is new with you first opportunity to have.

warmest regards

Ross

May 5, 1953 ✓

M. Zedler

Dear Jean:

I have been holding this letter ~~xxx~~ for Louis and K for a couple of weeks now wondering if you were going to be able to make contact. I am sending it on and should you find yourself being pulled out of the area before you contact them you might mail it. Of course you could equally well write the letter but I guess this will do. the trick if the trick can be done.

It is really too bad you were unable to make the week-end before last. A good friend of ours dropped in, one who spent almost ten months in Britain and in close contact with the French. I should have written you and perhaps you could have made it. My sole excuse is that we actually didn't know where we stood ourselves up until the last moment--it was stright internal and on a very loose schedule--and we were only informed Staurday that it would be Sunday for sure. There were two reports--one on our condition around the world and the other a special one on Britain. The latter was extremely detailed--4 hours. I will tell you all I remember when next we meet. Suffice it to say that showed me that we have a very good grasp of the situation here. Of course their experiences have been more advanced than ours but already we are coming into some problems that I think they have given us the answers for.

A very interesting experience with Marchand. I don't quite get the move on the part of the AFL people to settle so much lower than what the majority recommendation was. It would seem to me that this would lose them the paper makers that they have in those plants with ~~Spunk~~ the Syndicates. Also surprised to hear that ~~the IWA is in~~ <sup>he is</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>interested</sup> in ~~them~~ trying to take Cornwall, particularly since this is the only Howard Smith Mill they haven't got. Do they have a policy of hemming themselves into the province of Quebec and not even wanting to move as far as Cornwall. Their intention to distribute Cornwall would lead one to believe that they too are interested in Cornwall... I doubt if when they expose the AFL they will build ~~the~~ up the IWA. I hope you had an opportunity to talk over other matters with him. I would be very much interested to hear what the Syndicate leaders think they are going.

I have been reading the Orlov articles in Life but had not connected the author with Hernandez's Orlov--no doubt they are the same. The last on the personal life of Stalin was no hell. But of course most of it was based on hearsay whereas the others on personal participation and observation. On the whole quite ~~an~~ a vindication of the work of the Dewey Commission --surprisingly free from pro-Western Bloc material....with their respectful even eulogistic appraisals of Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin etc.

I see it is now five so I will close off—anyway will see you this week-end.

warmest regards

Row 8

May 5, 1953 ✓

Mate Shuste  
Dear Friend

I have asked Don to either hand this note onto you or to make you acquainted with its contents. I have recently ~~xxxxxxx~~ received an appeal from friends in Bolivia for aid in the important struggle that they are now involved in. It is a struggle which I am sure that you are in solidarity with.

The enclosure I think pretty well speaks for itself. If it weren't for the nature of the work that I and friends are at presently involved in we would carry a public campaign to raise aid. This is a new experience for us—usually we are in the unfortunate position of having to fight a rear-guard, a defensive action. This is offensive, and given the generally debilitated condition of the enemy, full of such promise. It would seem to me that our response to this appeal is not so much a duty as an opportunity. All of which makes it easier for me to make this request through such an impersonal medium as the mail.

Are you still getting the Militant? They have had some extremely interesting articles on Bolivia—of particular interest are the theoretical writings discussing the problems of the revolution culled from Lucha Obrero. Do you have access to the magazine United Nations World? There is an informative article on the Bolivian situation in the March issue. The author who is pleading for US aid against these peasants and tin miners who live the most abysmal life imaginable, cries that the next six months will tell the tale.

I have no idea how well fixed you are these days but whatever you can see your way clear to pass onto Don will be very much appreciated.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

May 5, 1953

(Maurice?)

Dear M---

I am sending this note via Don as I assume that he has been dropping in on you occasionally, passing on the odd bulletin, circular letter, and by word of mouth keeping you informed to some extent on what is going on. This note should give him good cause to drop in on you again.

If he has been across the River lately or had a visitor he should be in a position to give you some most interesting information of what is going on around the world movement and in particular in Britain. One of our best southern friends has recently returned from a ten month stay in Britain and stopped off here to give us about a four hour report. Our progress there has been phenomenal--of course I am unable to give much of a picture in this letter but you will get an idea when I tell you that the editor of our paper will, if the executive committee of the Labor Party doesn't instruct the local party members otherwise, be the LP candidate in the coming election against none other than Winston Sir Winston Churchill himself. Here the two irreconcilable opposites meet

The other highlight of the report is Bolivia. I am sending along an enclosure which I think gives you a fair picture of the situation there and incidentally outlines the main purpose of this note. The Kerenky phase of the struggle there is now one year old--the tin mines have been nationalized and we are now moving forward to the resolution of the dual power. Yes, the struggle is developing along the lines of October--and to further the parallel we are in the July days....and we need help. If it weren't for the nature of our present work we would conduct a public campaign to raise aid. About as much as we have been able to do so far publicly has been the writing up of an article in the youth paper here. But we have been raising funds from various friends. This is a new experience for us--usually we are in the position of having to fight a rear-guard action--holding onto something or stalling off a bad development. This is an offensive situation and given the condition of imperialism on the whole South American continent not to speak of Asia full of much promise. To raise money for so a project is not so much to be considered a duty as an opportunity, eh!

I understand from Don when he was in for the convention which he has no doubt told you about that things are tightening up for you. However whatever you can do will be a big help. I read in an article in the March issue of United Nations News that a tin miner, and they are the most highly paid, makes two dollars in US funds a day. So you can well imagine the difficulties of work that face us there, buying paper, printing equipment, etc.

I do not suppose what with the glut of textiles, that you now have much cause to come into Toronto. However when you do I am certainly looking forward to seeing you at our new abode at 62½

warmest regards to you and the family

Ross

WC Born — Feb 14/1889

May 19, 1953 ✓

Dawson Sr age 64

1421 West sixth Ave, (VAN)  
Dear Hugh Dawson

Received the batch of clippings that you sent this morning with many thanks—haven't taken time out to go through them yet. They have remained me however to get down to write you this note.

Yesterday I spent an hour or so visiting at 999 Queen Street West, The Ontario Mental Hospital. The old man is there, he has been there now for a week and two days. He looks much better than he has for the last year or two and I gather feels much better. I committed him with the agreement of everyone else because since you left he has continued to go down hill, not washing shaving, changing his clothes, wandering around doing nothing but foolishly dream. I investigated all the facilities that are available—actually all he needs is to be disciplined, he is quite harmless and is to a major degree quite rational. The state has no facilities of the type that would meet his need. We could possibly have found a place where they would tell him before leaving in the morning to wander around the streets that he first had to go back and shave and wash, that he had to change his clothes, that he had to eat breakfast, or take a bath. But such an arrangement would cost a considerable sum of money—probably at least \$20 a week and he would actually be no better off than where he is now. I toured the Whitby hospital and 999 Queen first before committing him. While it is probably understaffed 999 is not a bad place at all. The place is pleasantly decorated, there are nurses who will show the patients who want to learn how to hook rugs etc. There are radios, cards, lots of reading material and besides should he show any possibly of improving there are facilities for treatment.

Lois, Joyce and now I have been down to see him in the last week and two days. ~~Lois says that~~ He is in the hospital section, under observation I gather and taking treatments. I could not be sure of the latter as there is no doctor on duty on Sunday the day I went and Joyce forgot to ask when she was there. He told Lois that he had been there for a considerable time although he had only been there at that time for about 24 hours, that we must have spoken to the staff for they were now treating him much better than they had been when he was first there. Joyce went three days later and he appears to have forgotten that Lois was ever there. According to Joyce he told her that he had only come out of a coma that morning and was surprised to find out that he was in a hospital, he had no recollection as to when or how he got there. I don't know whether he knows where he is. He seems quite at home, he told me that they were looking after him well, that he was putting on weight and that since summer was coming he would probably leave shortly. The scabs that he had on his head and neck are really healing up, although I noticed on his wrist what appeared to be a burn of some kind but as only orderlies were there I couldn't find out anything about it. Although it was of such a character that it must have hurt him he was quite surprised to see it when I pointed it out to him and knew nothing about it. The committal papers called him a euphoric parietic. Paresis is a partial paralysis that develops with advanced syphilis. Euphoria is a state of being up in the air, divorced from reality. When he got up while I was there I could see that under the skin on his legs there were splotches, it looked like there had been scabs here and there. I will find out all I can about his condition and his possibilities. I myself just from talking from him think that his memory is by and large gone, he seems to be in a sort of stupor until you talk to him then he lights up and is as affable as ever but his conversation tends to drop back into talking about mother and his neglect of her, the fact that he is a big gun in the color and printing game, made big money, the collection that he has and the plans that he has to use it etc. When Dr. Ross was giving him treatments there was no response and so it is highly doubtful

that there will be any now unless they have found some new treatments. My own impression is that he is content to stay there.

There is one other problem that I must take up with you. It is costing us \$7 a week to keep him there. This is the minimum. Of course one can plead inability to pay but then you are investigated. Well five of us are working and making fairly big money. I have been doing all the paying out and so far everyone but you has kicked in \$50. So far we have spent almost \$400 and I would like in the next week or so to give the gang an accounting. How are you fixed, have you managed since you are working again to put anything aside. It would be good if within the next week you were able to send \$50 along or something towards it. If you are unable, let me know. It would be good just as long as it is possible for anyone to chip in equally. Of course if one of us is unemployed or suddenly gets into some financial difficulties allowances will be made. I am sure. Joyce of course was left a fair sum of money but she has no income of her own--so far she has insisted on paying in. For the past several months we have been averaging 11 and 12 dollars a month--I don't think seven dollars should be hard for us to meet. Inside of a year he will be eligible for his old age pension which I would think will take him completely off our hands.

I have heard via a one sentence note from Ruth that they are both in. How did your interview go? Their acceptance should put yours in a totally different light. We have decided that I should now press forward for my acceptance. My relations with High Park were discussed at a recent executive meeting and all 14 in attendance were voicing indignation about the opposition of the provincial leadership. A proposal was put forward that the executive should send a delegation demanding acceptance but nothing was done on it and the matter was left there. Most of the members in High Park are rather old and do-gooder types, but my positive activities (we go out once a week in membership work) and my positive approach to the movement generally has won me considerable support. The club is generally against the leadership for vague leftist tendencies which I have been fairly careful to exploit. There is one fellow in the club whom I have been doing a considerable amount of work on--he bought the coming world showdown, comes to the bookstore quite often, has read the odd Militant and Socialist Outlook. There is another fellow who has been coming along but he has many Stalinist tendencies and progress has been much slower. He is just over from Scotland and has been at various Stalinist extravaganzas in Vienna etc...a real petty bourgeois type. Most phenomenal developments have been through Myer, Ken and Les' work in the East End youth. We have a couple of people there very close to us and several coming down to the store for literature and discussion. Elsewhere we haven't been able to do so well, that is in the clubs. One of the boys has done an excellent job in his shop, has got a PAC set up, putting out a monthly letter for distribution in the plant, planning extensive activities for the coming election. The next few months should provide us with many opportunities to open up however even in the worst clubs. In the one or two where we are well placed I am hoping that we will really be able to make an attempt to set masses in motion.

How are things going in the provincial election. Are we going to be the government what with the revival of the liberals cutting into SC and the CCF vote going plump?

warmest regards

Ross



May 22, 1953 ✓

*M. J. = Caldwell*  
Dear Jean;

And what do I think of the latest little attack of Dennison? Well, I don't know, it could be many things. No doubt there is a bit of buzzing about us in the ~~rank~~ of the top circles---after all you spoke at the convention, the High Park club executive is solidly behind my membership, McAlpine took over the executive in the East end youth. It could mean that they feel some need to try and counteract us---it could mean that they would like to provoke us into some crazy action of defending Trotsky against their petty stupid slanders, get into some conflicts which would not at all be understood by even the best elements in the movement. Then again it could mean that Trus mentioned your existence in this one club and Dennison indulged in a little spite. Then again it could mean nothing of any importance at all. I am sure that it must have completely passed over the heads of everyone there except L---and possibly Trus. To quote Stalin against L! no matter how you present it would most probably redound to the latter's credit. In my opinion when it amounts to such a few words as this did, probably not at all clear to anyone of any importance to us the best thing we can do is to ignore it all. ~~Whether or not it is a trap~~ I don't know how we can at this time clearly ascertain what this incident may mean. At any rate I can't see what we are doing that we should seriously consider not doing no matter how we interpret the incident nor can I think of much that ~~we should do~~ we haven't done that we should now do no matter how you interpret the incident.

Coldwell was in town last night. He spoke at the Davenport nomination meeting ~~but~~ The meeting was pretty well rained out, Davenport club itself I could only gather from attendance is pitifully weak. Young was nominated and in his ~~acceptance~~ acceptance speech surprised me ~~in~~ by giving a bit of a materialist interpretation of history, spoke out against capitalism for a new society; fairly good but very general very vague. Coldwell devoted all his time to speaking on housing and national health presented ~~a~~ a very reformist plane, pulled an amusing boner---he turned to the various candidates on the stage and appraised them by saying "these men are candidates that any party might be proud of." He launched off in a bit of an attack on the US for not adhering to the UN adopted Indian proposal on the Korean negotiations but apparently he thought he must have gone too far for our tender sensibilities "I am not saying anything that is not being said by any of the leaders of the democratic world, any more than what Churchill is saying---I am only perhaps saying it a little more freely than they could say it." Alas that is just what is wrong. A couple of my contacts were there and we had coffee together afterwards. I think we are coming along famously. Temple phoned me this morning to shoot the bull, it appears that he had just left Coldwell who appears to have been agreeing with him that the movement is in a bad way and to some degree it is the responsibility of the present leadership

Jesus Christ this guy Max Armstrong is plaguing me ---he just can't go about his business---always butting in to tell you some of his troubles or some interesting anecdote from his great wealth of knowledge---right now he is moving from reading a few pages in a book from which he will deliver a few excerpts, over here to the typewriter to emphasize a point---he is waiting until 2 o'clock when he is expected to be upon some job. But to pick up on M.J. Bill tells me that he mentioned my name and that Coldwell was agreeable that I should come in. It appears that the old man is looking around for some leaders to take over---he is well into his sixties and is not very well. He does not see much. This is of course on the quiet. Bill was saying how he has changed, how he has lost his fire to a large extent attributing it to the poisonous atmosphere at Ottawa.

*M.J. = Caldwell*

*Bill Temple, CLE High Park leader*

It appears that the provincial leadership in BC has had to eat old crow. The riding convention in Vancouver center I think it was nominated Rod Young to run again, The executive intervened and declared him unsuitable but the subsequent nomination convention again stood up for Young. Archibald is running in Skeena

Hugh sent in the enclosed clippings on the IWA---but did not even so much as enclose a note. W.L. was visited by yours truly on Monday last and seems to be quite well adjust---smoked a stoggy and shot the bull at great length and in quite a placid frame of mind.

See you when next you are in town

Ross

May 31, 1953 ✓

Cort (VAN)  
Dear George;

Enclosed you will find the receipts for the two sums that you sent recently. We did so well that we were even able to meet some of our obligations in Europe, ones we have been rather neglectful of late.

I suppose everyone is up to their necks in the elections. Things are getting underway for the federal down here. I have just finished writing up a bit of the propaganda that we are going to use in our riding. If it is accepted and I have written it so that there are strong possibilities that it will be, the Stalinist rank and file just wont be able to understand why their leaders are running a candidate in our riding. We are going to attempt to get the youth to really enter into some militant mass activities. The university element, they put forward the most interesting resolutions at the recent elections, have been hanging around here quite a bit of late. Just shoved a couple out of the door so I could get on with my work. A hard thing for me to do for after all that is a good part of my work isn't it. However we have to develop these people not so much by working on them as by working with them and on them. The election will give us lots of opportunities and many issues to talk about.

fraternally

Kane. (R.D.)

June 1, 1953

Windsor  
Dear Joan and Don;

(Dotzart)

M + M = Maurice & — ?

Didn't acknowledge your money order sooner as I knew you would know that it arrived save and sound since you registered it. It arrived in the nick of time too. I was just wondering what we could do about meeting some of our European obligations which we have been neglecting somewhat of late. And you were the answer. I sent on three-quarters of it that very day

I hope you have managed to get around to see M and M. If you haven't, why not send the notes off in the mail with a line that you will be dropping around in a few days, ~~expressing your opinion~~ There has been no important recent news from Bolivia in the last few weeks. I suppose you saw the appeal that the miners sent out to the workers of the world to force the US to break its embargo ~~which~~ it appeared in a recent issue of the Militant. A long document dealing with the nature of the economy, the living standards of the people and many of the problems that would confront the victorious social revolution came in recently but there is only the one copy and it is going the rounds here.

A most primitive country—2½ tractors per 10,000 ha (Acres?) under exploitation, Italy has 44, USA has 193. Continual hunger—Peru produces 230 kg of cereals, rice and sugar to Bolivia's 20 kg. Annual wages of the 45 to 50,000 workers in the mines is \$420 dollars per capita. Terrible imperialist exploitation—Exports between 1940 and 1950 amounted to \$873 million but for all that exports the people got in return a mere \$498 million. So you can see that the revolution can do much for the people there. The government spends in the maintenance of its bureaucracy every year twice and three times as much as all the workers together earn. According to a UNO report the average income per day and family was .60 cents. Only one out of a thousand owns a car. It is hard to see how any imperialist blockade could hurt people with such a miserable living standard. There is quite a section on the great possibilities of development of the economy, even on its own basis, and in co-ordination with the economies of other South American countries.

Glad to hear you are on the joint PAC. Murray is trying to get a PAC functioning in his local and things look good. We have been quite successful in Packinghouse, the local leadership taking a very good line. I understand there is a plan to strike off a couple of men to do full time PAC work on the local membership a week or so before the election—we will be angling of course. Jim wrote the last letter they sent out to the member-

membership, they are sending out one a month advancing different arguments why the ranks should vote CCF. Nearly all the candidates have been nominated in this area. Things are now moving to get ready for the canvassing etc. I have just written one of our leaflets. I think it is a pretty good job. I have written it in such a way as we could interpret it very widely and so that the committee will accept it—I hope. If they do the LPP leadership who are running a candidate in our riding will have a hard time justifying it to the rank and file.

~~My impression of the situation~~ We are laying plans to project the youth group into some real mass activities. We have a nice little group coming around us now. I have just had to kick some of the university students who you will remember made such a row at the convention out of the place here...so I can get some of my work done. Of course this is hard as this is my work also. However we have to work with people—work on them but in the process of activities and experiences

H. - Houston

If you keep working on people consistantly you keep going farther and farther and possibly endanger our log range work. We have to work on them but more and more with them, developing them in the process of doing the work of the movement

We have ~~maximism~~ all kinds of plans worked out to attempt to the CCF to set the masses in motion but very few in the movement feel in the mood and we are going to have to let a lot of them slide---but it will be a good education for the better elements in the movement.. William H has just stepped in the door and it looks like <sup>4</sup> had better bring this to a close. He comes up about once a week and we talk over various of the clubs activities---have been having a little spat with him in the last few weeks for for all his talk about dynamism he is not much of an experimenter.

Godd to see that the discussion group continues..Hope you have a copy of the Regina Manifesto on hand to do a job on the Ten Point Program.

warmest regards

Ross

June 1, 1953 N

Bullock

Dear Reg,

I have just received a letter from Europe which will be of interest to you. It appears that there is now living in Vancouver a very good friend of ours by name

Pedro Chartos who works for Western Canadian Tour-operators  
Imperial Building Suite 26  
448 Seymour St,  
Vancouver 2, B.C.

They suggest we get in touch with him. "He is an old acquaintance of ours who has rendered in the past some important services, particularly financially. He is not a member and he need not know all the details of our work. He is however we repeat, in his own way, very devoted to our cause and he has proven this over many years."

It appears that he is already in contact with "Mrs Grace McInnis who was in Austral after February 1934. She and Tom Alsbury, local CCF leader, want me to organize the CCF youth movement in the province in June when the elections are over and I am less busy." This last quote is obviously from his letter to our friends overseas.

They suggest that we search our ranks to get some one who is very serious and very Loyal who will be able to do what can be done with him. It would seem that our person should be young and preferably someone who would in the process of our work come in contact with him. But you note they stress very serious and very loyal. It need not be known by the group that we have any contact with this person other than we could possibly be expected to have in the process of our CCF work. If this was desirable down here in Toronto you would already be eliminating a considerable group of our friends—friends who suffer from the desire to talk too much, who believe ~~starkly~~ that every bit of our business is the property of everyone of us

Elsewhere in the letter they stress the matter of finances so I gather that our friend is very good for this ...but a meeting of two will have to be got through before it could be raised I would suppose—and it should come here direct, not through the treasurer. I gather he is on the inside track with the big wheels out there and could prove valuable to us in this too—giving us names and people to follow up on etc.

Would you look after this matter— I have been intending to write and hope to get around to it in a day or so.

Kana

(R.D.)



July 2, 1953

Dear Reg

*Bullback*

A month has passed by since you dropped me that extended line. When we were putting out the paper it was never hard for me to account for time spent. Now I can never account for its passage. In fact I now wonder how the hell we ever managed to get the paper out and do other incidental jobs that we somehow managed to find time to do also. Of course I have been doing quite a bit of work in the CCF. But so much of it is waiting for things to happen coaxing them on to make some simple decisions, doing routine work of integration. Boy any serious socialist who resists Bolshevik conceptions of organization and Bolshevik party relations would be cured with a short term in the CCF clubs that I am familiar with. Even the best elements are so damn permeated with opportunism—even in personal relations. I have not yet come to an understanding with the persons I am working with as to when they are serious about something they say or decide or when they are merely feeling their way around a question. For instance Joe Roseworthy phones me yesterday and asks me what I know about sound equipment—I tell him practically nothing but I have a friend who does know whom I will contact. But it turns out what he really wanted to know was whether I could get him equipment wholesale and when my friend did not phone him back right away he went ahead and bought one retail. We can't even arrange a simple distribution—missed one at the Swift plant gate this morning...everyone was expecting me apparently—we had been talking about it but the guy who arranges such things is so used to talking to our people in such a general non-committing manner that I did not think that it had been definitely settled. I am now quite convinced not just in theory but in practice that Bolshevik organizational forms and relations are merely an extension of revolutionary socialist ideas...that sloppiness and dilletantism in ideas such as prevails in the CCF has its inevitable reflection in organizational forms.

no four

I have written three different leaflets in the last month but so far after all hell of a lot of fancy foot work and compromises have only had one accepted. As soon as it was OKed I rushed down to the printer to get him to run it off before they changed their mind again. Wrote one for the packinghouse PAC but it was rejected—they didn't have the guts to say it was too strong for them, another guy just wrote a substitute which was accepted. Murray got his club to OK the idea of writing a leaflet on the LPP. We have decided to take a strong stand on the LPP campaign in an attempt to pick up their cadre. In Murray's riding the LPP vote if it can be got to go CCF can decide the election. It is small but every sign points to a close contest. The idea was to mimeograph the leaflet for canvassers. Once it was OKed in Murray's riding we could use it elsewhere. The club meeting said go ahead. I wrote it up in Murray's name. I think it is a good job, simple, explanatory—Marxist. I think it would really shake any rank and file Stalinist. Murray shows it to the club whip. Won't do. It may be used by the Tories against us—it will look as if we are trying to get the LPP vote, the "commie" vote. Rather amusing. The whole goddamn movement jockeys to not alienate this little strata of voters and get this little one's vote. And we do want the LPP vote and we do want their members but.....The first reaction is negative when Murray read the leaflet was it was too long. But when he cut it and went to face with the decision they finally revealed their position. I have the other leaflet I have drawn up for our riding. Too long, too long. I thought one of them really spoke out what is really the problem. "The trouble is that you want to educate the electorate. But we want to get votes, we will work after the election." Of course these attempts to influence the over-election campaign in the riding which we are working is premature. We haven't been able to do the necessary work in the movement that we need to become the voice of the party. We are being thrust into the position that there is a real crisis of leadership in the mass movement and we just don't have anyone who can write the necessary local material

And even the best elements at this time while they may state their agreement with what you have to say hesitate when they see what you both say down in writing—they are afraid and permeated with the spirit of compromise. The fate of another leaflet that I have written is hanging in the air. I am doing nothing about it, waiting to see if they write another one more suitable to them.

Thanks for all the details on your experience in getting a membership. Quite a coup with the little motion and all. I have been boning up on the questions that they asked you and your answers. I showed my letter to the provincial executive here to my key friend in the club and without me doing any more the club executive sent a very good letter to the provincial body asking that I be accepted. Furthermore the secretary who has much prestige in the movement being a heavy financial supporter and a devout Christian sent an accompanying plea. All to no avail. Last Monday night I learned from one of the provincial executive members who is friendly to me that my application has been refused. I haven't had a chance to get the full story as this part of it was told to me at a meeting where all the bureaucrats were in attendance and from the side of the mouth. But it seems that it was reported that some time back a decision was made not to accept anyone who was a well known member of the RWP. My friend asked for a copy but none was available. I am almost positive such a resolution was never passed—certainly it was not referred to when they handled Murray's application—and I would have heard from another person who was on the executive. I don't know what support my application got other than that of my informant's support. It appears that she put up quite a battle. I gather their big argument was that the press will pick up the fact that I am in the CCF. My informant insisted that I should appeal the decision of the executive to the council. I have not yet received official confirmation so the thing hangs here. David James put his application in again and while he has heard nothing official I believe he has also been turned down. He lives in a suburban area where the movement has had great difficulty getting a candidate—in fact the movement scarcely exists there. There was even a possibility that he would get the nomination—that is if the few local people had any say in the matter—but I gather that the provincial leadership has definitely put the blocks to that and from the way that some of the local members are acting towards him that they have been given definite instructions to stay away from him.

Of course the club in which I am working is fully prepared for my rejection and it will in no way effect my relationship with them. I am still in the position that I was in. Where do we go from here??? we will have to talk all this over.

The campaign here is only getting underway. From what I can see it is going to be a weak one. For instance it was decided to break up our rather large riding into 5 zones and place a captain over each one to supervise things. A few nights ago I had the temerity to raise the matter of getting to work on this appointing the captains, planning the work. Thereupon I was very candidly informed that we just don't have five persons we could really turn the work over, only three, one of them being me. This is not actually the true situation although it has considerable truth in it. In other ridings the same appears to hold true although they don't seem to have even got as far in preparations as we have. There is very little interest in the PACs. A city wide meeting was called last Monday, all PAC members invited along with the various constituency candidates and campaign managers. The purpose was to put the trade union PAC activists in touch with the ridings where they live. There were 36 candidates and managers and about 12 other persons. In this field however we have managed to score one considerable achievement. Over the heads of the Packinghouse union local executive the membership voted to send something in the neighbourhood of \$1600 to the Ontario PAC campaign. This sum was also voted on the basis that about \$400 of it would be kicked back to the local so that two persons could be taken off work for one full month during the election to work full time at the job of building PAC and delivering the vote to the CCF. We got both posts. However the Ontario PAC leadership have since reneged on this commitment. They have turned \$200 over to each Toronto and area riding which presumably cuts out the two fulltimers at Packinghouse. I have used my influence to get our riding in which about 700 packinghouse workers reside to take its two hundred dollars and hire one of the fellows voted for by the packinghouse local. This will give a great impetus to the Packinghouse PAC and put us in the position of being the leaders of political action in the eyes of the membership.

A big problem is apathy, apathy of the workers which is of course immediately reflected in the movement. Unlike the situation in the BC election where there was every possibility that the CCF could win, this federal election sees no such hopes. The leadership has failed completely to give the movement anything to sink its teeth in that would inspire the ranks and bestir themselves in the confidence that well we may not get in this time but we are laying a base for the next time...we have something that must be said. Not only are the workers apathetic, something which to a considerable degree is outside the control of the Party, but the cadre is somewhat demoralized. The ten point program is indeed a miserable thing, so patently so that there was no difficulty in my club to convince everyone that we don't want to order the national office literature that just plays that up. We are putting out two sample items of our own. One of them is a multilithed appeal to trade unionists that puts forward a simple but clear class line. The other one has not been decided upon. I wrote one but it was not satisfactory ~~xxxxxx~~ as I said previously in this letter. Besides their not having a program that can inspire their own ranks the leadership have alienated many of the better elements by such actions as this <sup>P</sup>ackinghouse workers deal.

There is much dissatisfaction in the clubs here — along the line that you say there is in BC. Here the provincial office has placed a quota on each club, on the basis of what it is in membership, its state of treasury, and its past record, that is to be raised over and over what is being raised by the club for its own purposes. Many of the clubs are just not in the position to raise the quota, even half of it. It may well be that many of those who have been objecting to the demands of the center ~~xxxx~~ may develop into a political opposition to the leadership but as yet down here it is not at all too clear. There is one thing that is very obvious to us down here and that is that the leadership of the movement, particularly the provincial leadership have very little prestige in the minds of the ranks. But the big problem we are having ~~down here~~ is to come in contact with the membership. Very very few of the 3 to 400 members of my club attend the party's functions. Besides there are very few functions to attend. In the months of May and June we have had one meeting. The same situation prevails in Murray's club. In the east end of the city it is a little better. The impression is that it is by no means the best elements that attend the meetings. I am really looking forward to taking over one fifth of our riding as my baby. It is the most proletarian area in many ways although much of it is foreign workers and the language problem will be there. My work there tied in with the packinghouse full-timers work should turn out some valuable contact material.

Haven't had much time yet to clear up the setting up of the Co-op. Although it is pressing upon us. We have several youth around us — around us much closer than we would desire. Due to the debilitated condition of the movement we have been unable to work with them as much as we would like but have worked on them. One of them I turned up in my club and is now reading the F.I., has been an avid reader of the Militant for a couple of months. The others are in the youth group. There the right wing ~~xxxx~~ at least a couple of maverick elements of it have been raising a bit of a scare and drawing lines much sharper than we men would like. We are going to need the protection of a front. A bona fide Co-op will be pretty well invulnerable from attacks of a leadership that is presumably ~~xxxx~~ strongly in favor of ~~the~~ co-ops. It is good to ~~xxxx~~ hear of the formation of the new unit in your area. With such a development our work should take on the character of a process — we should be able to work with the best elements in our direction. This election campaign should turn out some new elements and re-activate some of the old so that we can expect to be in a similarly good position. From my reading of the CCF News I get the impression that the developments in your area are being duplicated elsewhere. Incidentally I suppose you noticed the excellent edit in the last issue on the East German strikes.

Sorry about the unorganized and ill-thought-out aspect of this letter. There have been many interruptions. I received the pack of election material you sent. Two of the posters at the IWA put out are sticking up in the window of the store right now. We also received the tape that you sent. Unfortunately we do not have a recorder upon which to play it. Will try to borrow one from somewhere or if necessary rent one until such time as we can get some to buy one from the States. ~~xxxxxx~~ I gather that it features the voices of several deals with our work. If possible we will try to return you the tape with some of our thoughts on it. As soon as the election is over I will be writing a lengthy and detailed analysis of our past years work and the road ahead.

warmest regards  
Ross

July 3, 1953 ✓

Breitman: SWP - dispute with Pablo (IS of FI)

(-3) (VAM)  
Dear Hardy;

Sounds a little like Lord Nelson however despite my long silence I am far from dead. I am enclosing the two receipts that I owe you, with many thanks. With whatever we can manage we are increasing our contributions to overseas and this has been a big help.

I am also enclosing a few minutes that are available. Rather late however by the time they get around and find there way back this is always so. What is best is that much of what is going on in these minutes appears now to have been resolved, or at least removed to a higher plane. I suppose you have read the report of the plenum in a recent issue of the Militant or maybe you have had visitors from the south. There is a new bulletin out which gives a detailed report of the plenum which will be coming your way shortly. I have only got the first copy from which I decide how many we should order for circulations since we are having to pay cash now on the barrel head. The bundle will be coming in the first of next week. By the way how have you been making out with the bulletins. As you know I have been sending only you and Blake copies. I have been half expecting either of you after receiving your copies and estimating the demand in Van to drop me a line for more. In my opinion there were several well worth all the comrades reading. It is sometimes hard to know just what did come out of a plenum from the reading of the documents. But my impression is that we have got cleared of the pettyness and the sharpness and the lack of clarity that surrounded the dispute before the plenum. Of course the matter is not probably settled but when it comes up I should think that it will be clearer and more capable of an intelligent settlement. We have had no discussion of the dispute here at all. Nearly everyone has bought and read the bulletins and there have been private discussions. My impression is that Breitman's contribution expressed the general feeling about the dispute as seen from down here.

I have received a pile of clippings, posters and other printed material related to the recent BC election along with a few comments from Reg. It was good to hear that the unions are moving further into the CCF and to hear that considerable organizational gains have been made during the progress of the provincial campaign. I would gather that our contacts have widened considerably. And with another election looming before us we will have an excellent opportunity to advance our work by working with these people.

The campaign down here has hardly got under way. I am really looking forward to our widening our contact. We have three or four good persons coming our way now. However there has been up until now so little opportunity for work that we have had to have not been working with them and developing them gradually towards us in the process as much as we have been working on them. There is a young fellow in my club who is coming along well now. He has been reading the Militant for a few months now and yesterday he took his first issue of the F.I. and is very much impressed. In the area that I am working there are good opportunities opening up. I will be in charge of one of the best sections of the riding and one of our boys is going to be taken out of his shop to work full time in the campaign in our riding on the workers in his shop who reside in it.

Following the federal election some of you out there will have to get together and prepare something on the past year of our work. We have had considerable experience now which we should be able to generalize on and line out a perspective. I intend to do this from this end

warmest regards

Ross.



July 3, 1953 ✓

Dear Hugh;

*Dawson (vase)*

Received your batch of material; the Chinese sculpture is quite interesting, I gather that this figure is a more or less traditional one which is copied and re-copied on a mass scale, I have seen it in many Chinese curio stores, or at least versions very similar to it: Did you know that there are cracks in it on one part of the base, the back of the head and at the base of the neck. Probably the wood was not properly dried out however in a moist place it may knit together again. The IWA posters that you sent in are quite good. I have put up two of them in the store window. Have scanned through the clippings. ...but haven't read many of them at this time of writing. The Bevan item is a portion of an article that appeared in the Nation and was reproduced in the Sask CCF press. It is quite interesting for his comments on the degeneration of the USSR which he quite clearly understands as flowing from capitalist encirclement. But for all his understanding he apparently believes that the capitalist should learn about this degeneration and not bring about the same development in the colonial world. He appears to think that they should be appalled by the degeneration of the USSR. ~~XXXX~~

Received the tape OK. I guess I will have to make the plunge and buy a tape recorder so that we can hear it and send you something in return. Now that Paddy is not in Steel I don't even know where we could borrow one. I have your make so next time someone is in Buffalo I will get them to pick one up. It goes against my grain—I am leading a very austere life these days. I have one thousand dollars left and of course I am gradually eating into this and I would like it to last for a while. However there is little doubt that it is a good piece of equipment to have.

No Murray and Jeannette are not on their way. Murray had decided to postpone the leaving till early Spring. Jeannette's operation while it is highly successful needs to be looked after for a while yet, the trip would be upsetting and she would if anything should develop be far from her doctor. It seems that Murray also doesn't like to think of spending a winter in England with its damp and cold and no central heating. He also wants to be in on the election which would of course mean postponing it till mid-August. There is of course no pressure to go right away—only the international situation. At any rate those are some of the pros and cons. In the meantime he is saving his money and laying plans for the early Spring departure which should get him there in good time for a certain important event that is also scheduled.

I am enclosing with this letter if it will fit in the envelop the french pamphlet you mention—the one in honour of our martyrs. Send it back when you have finished with it. So much for the specific items that you raise in your letter.

I am suprised that you haven't been getting the odd letter from the rest of the gang. We manage of course to see one another fairly regularly. Notonly for our greater purpose but Ruth seems to be interested in keeping in close touch. I go out every so often to her place and of course Jerry is there. Jeannette often comes down to the office. So there is much small talk about the family in which your name crops up fairly regualry. Every one talks about writing you even if they don't come across. Ruth is of course fairly tied down with her house which is now in pretty good shape. A few months ago I cleaned up her cellar by building a whole bank of shelves, doors have to be put on them, the floor painted and the walls whitewashed yet. They have painted the house and I gave them a hand on that too. Have also framed them several pictures. Ruth left last night for a week of her holiday at Beaumaris. She was telling me the other night that she got a phone call from a UCFer who is now on the municipal council. He wanted to know if she would stand for the federal nomination in the riding. She has a membership but has never got in touch with the local club. The truth is that it can hardly be said to exist. She said that she would not stand and was then asked if she knew anyone in the riding who might consider doing so.

She mentioned Vern and this fellow said oh yes he knew him and that he would be an excellent candidate but that the provincial office had turned thumbs down. I am trying to get her to work in the club but it is hard to get anyone interested in working when so much will suddenly fall on their shoulders...and she knows that would be so. Jerry's job is coming along fine. "With his spare time he is chasing up to Penetang. I gather he made contact with a girl who interests him when up to attend Don Sweet. He is not coming out the to picnic that we are arranging in Streetsville this week-end

So much for the Applewood Acres area. Jeanette is fine but her ear was running quite a bit about a month ago and the doctor told her that she must not stopp down so much scrubbing floors etc. So she now takes things easy. On July First Lois and Joyce arranged a picnic, a family picnic supposedly to honour Jerry's 22nd birthday I think. We all packed into Jean's and Jerry's car. Jeanette with her ear full of cotton batten so cold wouldn't get into it. We drove up into the Hockley valley just above Orangeville. Drove into a school year, down a bank and across the river to a picnic spot. No sooner had we eaten when it started to rain. Everyone was there but Joe and Ronny. Ruth dropped her camera in the water and Murray had conniptions when I put the watermelon in the water and let it float down the stream. Suzy was the only person to take advantage of my offer to carry them across the stream. The rest went down further and wormed their way across the turns of some fallen trees. We hurried to the cars following the rain and continued to drive up the valley. ~~By~~ By the time we got to its head it was really teeming and the sky was completely overcast. Half of the gang decided to call it a day but Lois Jean, I, Jeanette went on to visit Maryie Bisette on her farm at Creemore following which we went on a tour of the hilly cuntry just south of Georgian Bay. Had our second meal at the Devil's Gorge and so home--on our way back we came across a lot of evidence of a terrific storm. Several barns around the Orangeville area were completely destroyed, one of them burnt to the ground. Dozens and dozens of trees were down, chimneys scattered across roofes and the ground.

Joe did not come to the picnic as he had to help moves his father and mother to an apartment above their store. Ronny did not come as he is back in the hospital. He was rushed down there about 10 days ago and from what I gather he is in a bad way. He has hemorrhaged in the leg and has been doing so at such a rate that with transfusions they are making little progress. Joyce and oe were in Buffalo on the last days of his holiday when they got an emergency call from the hospital that he was on the critical list. He seems to have improved somewhat but Lois is of the opinion that it is possible that he will not come out of this attack. Joyce seems to be taking it alright but then she is very taciturn. I suppose you know that he has never regained the use of his one leg. He walks with quite a limp. If he comes out of this attack who knows how he will be.

As for the Bedards-- Jean left this week for the OTTawa-Montreal valley where he is going to attempt to follow up various leads that have been coming inot the IWA office and to work with Dionne. He expects to be away for about a month. Lois at the same time went off to Algonquin Park to Kay Scholes' for about ten days. School is out. Lois is quite active in the election campaign in her riding and intends to be so right through to the election. She has worked out quite aschedule--she is going to learn to type and has allotted so much time, she is going to learn to drive the car and has allotted so much time for this which she will do with Joyce's aid, following the lessons they intend to pick up the kids and go off for a tour in the country.

That leaves me--Expect ot get into the job of painting the store tonight. Ed and I recalculated the large room last week. Also intend to sand down the case I made for the Encyclopedia Britannica that I bought recently and placed in the office. Doing quite a bit in the High Park campaign although right now there is a bit of a stall in things. We havent got the enumerator's list so we havent started the canvassing. We have been spening the last few mornings distributing the various factories in High Park, Acme, the packing plants, railways shops etc. I will be in charge of one whole area in the riding and it is a good one--Maria Street area. I am looking forward to making some worthwhile contacts for us. I have turned up one good fellow in the past period of work who is reading the Militant and now the FI



With Jimmy's aid who will be working full time in this campaign in the High Park area on packinghouse workers I think we will be able to really widen our influence and get a better base under the local club.

I was going to give you a bit of a picture of how things are developing down here in our work however I see I have over tow pages now and am quite a bit behind in my correspondence. Why not ask Reg to see the letter I sent him the other day. There is quite a bit in it. Immediately following the election campaign I intend to write up a series of items on the past year of work.

warmest regards

Ross

July 9, 1953

*in Bedard*  
Dear Jean;

Received your check and will send it on. Also have noted your addresses. Do you want me to send my correspondence to Bruce Ave or to the IWA office?

I have just finished phoning O'Connor Drive to see if Lois is back yet but I got no answer. If the weather here has much relationship with Algonquin Park area Lois must be damn cold.

I am enclosing the last two copies of the *Militant*. The latest with material on the East German strikes is one of the most interesting for some while. I have some other stuff in French which I will send on to you as soon as Murray has finished with it—we want to make it the basis of a discussion on Sunday. The political revolution is on the way. These strikes are certainly a terrific blow to world imperialism. Not just the Stalinists but many workers went along with World War II as a progressive war of liberation of Europe from the Nazi yoke....a crusade. The same line has been developed by Wall St for World War III—a war of liberation of the Russian masses and the peoples in the satellites from the police state yoke—a crusade. But the masses in the buffer countries seem well on the road to taking care of the matter themselves and in a way that finds no enthusiasm from Wall St. These struggles are going to put the blocks to the Adenauer regime—in the coming elections we will certainly see West German SD ~~take~~ take over—and Germany together with Italy and France will be lost. These strikes so obviously completely proletarian—I see that the East German govt admits to mass arrests with their statement that they are releasing 50,000—must be hitting the CP's in France and Italy like a thunderbolt, really shaking the leadership and setting of critical trends in the membership. I wonder what it is doing to the LPP ranks. Our quasi Stalinist in High Park tries to get from under it all by saying he has only read the capitalist press reports but what is really going on in his mind. Too bad the old man did not see this all and make his inspiring pronouncements on the struggles.

By Monday we should be really getting the campaign underway in High Park. One of my letters, the simpler one addressed to trade unionists in the riding, the basic line of which I got accepted is now off the presses (2,000). We have already distributed 2,000 of Politics is Your Business to the factories in the area. I have been given a whole area to look after—between Annette Street up to the tracks stretching from Runnymede Rd to the railway station West Toronto. It is a good proletarian area and I am looking forward to turning up some good elements in the process of canvassing. It appears that canvassers are expected to merely go to the door put on a big smile, humour the voter and leave the literature but of course my canvassing will be much different. Our friends are trying to get out from under my other leaflet addressed to every voter which is much too left for them by suggesting we work on another gimmick—a comic book style of leaflet depicting plans of our program and telling who our candidate is. But alas I presented them with a series of radical picture themes that I gleaned from Larus Gey's cartoons to toes and fret over. Despite the fact that at every turn I face them with ideas that they oppose they are working very close with me. I am one of the big four in High Park. Bruce is coming closer and closer—in fact he is practically one of us.

Things are really hopping in packinghouse. Following the Toronto area PAC's refusal to honour Weisbach's commitments re two full time workers Temple took up Jim. But now it seems that he may not be able to get the leave of absence. The local leaders withdrew the request for leave of absence when the Toronto PAC withdrew then placed it in again but it looks like the company is going to refuse it now—thereby playing into the local bureaucrats hands for they are really opposed to both Joe and Jim having this job or even just one of them having it.

The bureaucrats are taking the line ~~if~~ that PAC activists should not bother about doing PAC work in the local and carrying PAC work on as such during the election campaign but should scatter their forces into the various ridings. Unfortunately when Jim opposed this he failed to get the support of you know whom. We now have a motion that a protest be sent to the OFL for its failure to honour Weisbach's commitment to the packinghouse membership coming before the executive. It has already come before one meeting and the line of the bureaucrats is that Jim went off completely on his own without authorization of the executive...they are ganging up in an attempt to frame him as a liar--- they are trying to make out that he falsely reported that a motion was passed by the Toronto area PAC giving the go-ahead for the hiring of the two of them and the getting of the leaves of absence. One of their stooges says that the motion that Jim reported was passed, which he incidentally abstained on in violation of the decisions taken by the local, was actually defeated. There is going to be an emergency meeting on the executive to discuss the whole matter prior to the next membership meeting where the whole thing will probably burst out on the floor. We are holding a discussion tomorrow night to plan our strategy. Probably this whole treacherous reneging on the part of the bureaucracy flows from two things---their damnable high handed contempt for the membership, that they are going to dispose of funds and handle things as they see fit, the other their sudden realization that since we got the two posts, even though Joe nominated one of the worst of them and he declined, that PAC has great dangers for them.

And what is it like to be back in the old stamping ground again, to be speaking French and moving in the old circles? I suppose you will be making contact with the CCF in the next week or so. How long do you think you will be there? What do you think of taking a nomination? They are probably looking for people. What would Ladd have to say--- it would require a leave of a month to campaign.

I meant this only to be a covering letter for the Militant. I have some little tasks I must get on with

warmest regards

Ross.

August 12, 1953

(Vancouver)

Dear Sue;

I ~~xxx~~ intended to write you a longer letter than what this one will turn out to be. But I want to get these two receipts off to you so that everything will be shipshape when you turn the books over to Wells. ~~xxxxxx~~ Too bad to see you go and Wells take over but now perhaps that ~~xxxx~~ our relationship will not be so strictly mercenary you will drop me a line of a more expensive character from time to time.

Havent had any word from your way for many months now although I see that there have been many interesting developments. Rodney Young, despite all the efforts on the part of the provincial leadership to prevent him, taking the nomination. The highly interesting report on how the second choice ballots went in the recent provincial election--I see that the CCF vote was pretty well only first choice--and that LPP voters despite the LPP leaderships instructions voted second choice CCF. AND OF COURSE NOW THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS.

We will be sending out a detailed report within two weeks (I am taking my one week holiday starting this Friday) of the elections, the character and success and lack of success of our participation and what we see ahead. But just a word! I am enclosing a couple of leaflets that we had a hand in putting out. The one of the pump is somewhat sectarian but coming along with the wealth of official materials I think that it is good. The Pethick one is to a large part a fruit of my efforts--that is the club that I am working-in. Of course we did not expect to effect official campaign policy at this stage but as you can see we did nonetheless. The candidate showed an amazing willingness to accept press releases drawn up by me. I only managed to put out three but one of the major papers picked up one or another. One put forward a sharp class line...the character of the Liberal Tory parties, Another came out in defence of the Timmins strikers, attacking the courts and the laws as being capitalist, another came out for China recognition at once ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ as a first step to transforming the truce to a peace, exposing Liberal recognition of Spain and Chiang.

Most of us concentrated our efforts on canvassing in an attempt to widen the influence of the party, turning up persons who could be activated in the campaign and could be approached for membership. While we had very few campaign workers all during the campaign we did however turn up a number of good worker types who we will get into the club. I see this is almost entirely about my own efforts--~~xxx~~ but I must close off--the gang are gathering

warmest regards

Ross

September 8, 1953

(-2)  
Dear Hardy;

Kelly-Rose to Joe Rose (Rosenthal) resign

I dropped an item of some interest into the mail to you late last night. After letting it fall into the box I had a sudden feeling that the address was perhaps not quite right. I am of course usually quite careful about such matters—when in doubt I check past correspondence to make sure of the address—but after all I know yours. Nonetheless I have now a feeling that it may have gone to 36 instead of 34. It is possible that the mailman will rectify it all, then again I may be wrong in thinking I made a mistake. At any rate I want you to know so that you can do what you think necessary. The envelope is addressed to you but the contents make no mention of any name. The contents are four documents—one a report of the Control Commission, two statements by Kelly in his resignation from the club and a statement on it all by the PC. When it comes to names the whole thing is in the clear but otherwise—well it is obviously something to do with some organization that takes itself very seriously and is revolutionary. If it were delivered to the wrong address your name is so clear that I am quite sure that it would not be opened. If you don't get it within a couple of days of receiving this one I would go down to 36 and ask for it. Let me know what develops—the odds are that it is correctly addressed and all this is much ado about nothing.

Possibly this latest development with Kelly will take you by surprise although you will see from the document accompanying it that it takes no one here by surprise at all. What surprised us was ~~that~~ after talking about asking for a leave of absence from club work while active as hell in the union where he was consistently carrying a line in opposition to that agreed upon at the club and with his co-worker, and after flatly informing us that he had resigned over the phone, that he should go to the trouble to write up the two short statements of charges against. Obviously the whole matter was out of our hands. The CC recommendation number 4 of course was not a possible basis of compromise even if they ~~would have~~ had wanted to find one, we couldn't even grant it to save their face. To have set Houston up in a separate group with the two people who are working in his milieu, divorced from the other group would have been saying that the CC finding that he was not an acute security risk was a lot of tripe—that after all Houston was an acute risk. Who one must ask are persons of less or lower security needs that they can afford to be placed in contact with Houston. ~~There~~ The big problem of security for us lies not in protecting ourselves from the paraphernalia of the bourgeoisies but from the mass movement's bureaucracy. In this sense all of us working in or trying to get into the mass movement have the same security needs. There are only two persons who do not fit into this scheme—Conroe and Mann who are not in the mass movement and have no intentions of ever trying to get in—but they present themselves as persons who have top security needs. Furthermore we are not big enough to split in two—our work would be terribly compromised as we are working in the same milieu even though if not in the same constituency. Houston himself is on the Toronto area council of the mass movement and would obviously have to be in very close touch with two others we have on that body—as for conventional delegates.....

I must say that while we did nothing to bring about such a situation ~~xxxxxx~~ everyone here is considerably relieved that Kelly is gone. We all feel that we just had no possibility of growth with this alien element in our ranks confusing every question. While one has nothing to do with the other the next get-together will be seeing us welcome two new persons into the group—the first from our work in the mass movement in the Toronto area. Both are young people, one a fellow I turned up in the club I am working in and who has developed very far on the basis of my work and above all the work of our young people who were immediately put in contact with him. He is really rooted in the mass movement—his father is a real worker element and key figure in my club—a right winger. But the son was looking for us to a large degree—he will be working in the student movement in the next period where he is well known and respected. The other is a girl who our youth work picked up—a very good type, her father a former member of the CP, she is a bit sectarian but we will straighten this up with no difficulty whatsoever.



Blake

I don't know how you and ~~xxxx~~ intend to handle this whole matter—you should certainly talk it over together before it is talked around at all. One of you should show him to Hugh as he ~~xxxx~~ is on the CC and should know the recent developments. I am not sending him one for two reasons—I don't know where he is living now and after all there is no merit in having three copies around. In fact after you and Blake have satisfied yourselves I think it would be a good idea to destroy your copies. Whether the club there should be acquainted with this material is up to you two to decide.

Well our work in the next period should begin to improve now that we have picked up two natives from the mass movement...not that there are any secrets that are unknown to us but we will no doubt continually get a better feel of things as we pick up people and work closer with them than one can any other way than in the club itself. Of course new people always open up ones field of work and it is certainly true in the case of the new male addition. We are going to get into the student movement—a field which I think is going to have increasing promise. Our youth work is coming along very well—by far the most promising of any that is being done and now it will widen even further. Right now we have another young fellow who is very close to us and ~~xxxx~~ a handful of persons who show some promise.

I suppose you noted the ~~xxxx~~ article on the ~~xxxx~~ elections that appeared in the southern press. I think it covers the general problems but I am thinking of drawing up something on our past years experience in the light of the elections. After all they are really a high point and in the process of working in them we all should have got a real picture of the class, the movement, the probable courses of development, etc. I could ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ write something along this line on the basis of our experiences down here alone but it would obviously be much more balanced if it were to be written up on the basis of your experiences out there also. We haven't heard from anyone out there about our federal election experiences. I wonder if you could give us some information

We had some excellent experiences that should certainly be written down. For instance I was in the fortunate position of being able to write press releases for the candidate in our riding and getting him to ok them with minor changes. I wrote two or three good ones substantial portions of which were picked up by the press. Unfortunately pressure of other work prevented me from really doing a job on this. I was also in the position of being able to influence the character of our main leaflet—I am enclosing a copy—I think it is the best leaflet that the mass movement has put out since the depression days. I have just come in from doing some contact work on persons who in the process of my canvassing showed considerable interest in the mass movement. Out of four persons seen two bought copies of Fred Henderson's Case for Socialism, another one should certainly join the youth group in the riding where we have a strong man. Henderson's pamphlet is on the whole a fairly good one to give to beginners, the most left available. And of course we have a better picture of the movement and its relations to the class—our vote was almost completely from the working class areas in the riding. The club itself failed to respond to the election. Only a handful of members really dug in and did work—the great bulk didn't even show their face. My impression is that they are all pretty well worn out and to a considerable degree will have to be replaced by new blood. My own prestige is even higher on the basis of the work I did and the role played. The club is being driven more and more to energetically back my membership application. The provincial executive has postponed decision until its first meeting of this month. I have sent them a statement in answer to some of the arguments that were advanced but not acted upon in opposition to acceptance of my application. So we should have word on this first important phase of this little battle within a week or so. Of course many others of us down here had experiences just as interesting as mine. I am sure what with your longer good relations with the movement out there that yours were even more illuminating....and I am looking forward to hear about them

You should be getting some minutes shortly—Fitzgerald has been somewhat tied up with union and other business. Regards to the family

fraternally

(RD)



September 9, 1953 ✓

Dear Reg

Bullet

Fitzgerald - Murray  
new girl - Pat Mitchell?

No doubt you were suprised ~~incommenstably~~ about the contents of the letter you received the other day. ~~incommenstably~~ I dont think that the information it contained should be passed around until you get in touch with Hardy and have a talk with him about it. Hugh should be shown it all. He is on the CC and should know the final outcome of the preliminaries which he is already familiar with. Of course the whole thing has been gone into here ~~too~~—although not a thing was known about it by the club until the last get-together. After the club accepted Houston suddenly with no explanation to anyone Monroe, McMann, Kelly and Henderson just absented themselves. It wasn't till several weeks later that their absence was raised by anyone and we felt that any explanation was necessary. No one raised it for quite a period for they had been attending on a most irregular infrequent basis for quite a long while. After their absence had obviously taken on some pattern I informed the branch that the matter was in the hands of the PC. At the last meeting the whole thing was reported upon by means of releasing all the statements by Kelly, the CC and the lengthy statement by the PC.

Of course the resignation came as no suprise here. What suprised everyone was that Kelly went to the trouble to write the two statements in an apparent attempt to justify himself—or to dirty the next after he had made it apparent to everyone that he had no further use for it. While everyone is convinced that there was nothing we could do, ~~that~~ ~~themselves~~ to prevent this development, while no one really wished it...everyone is to a considerable degree relieved. Everyone without exception now had come to the conclusion that not only were these people not contributing anything but that they were really stading in the way of our intelligently discussing our problems and impleteneting our orientation. ~~themselves~~ The meeting where all the material was read not only accepted the correspondence but referred an unanimous recommendation that Henderson and Kelly be expelled to the PC for its consideration. I dont think this is a ~~reaction~~ "You quit? Hell no, You're fired ." reaction—a petty gesture. It is more a declaration that in the future we as a group are not going to tolerate in our relations with one another the rotten atmosphere that Kelly went about generating—sort of a summing up of an experience and a declaration against unprincipled maneuvering, unprincipled politics in the club. At the same get-together it was decided to strike off a leading comrade to ask two contacts we have had on the string for a while to come in. One has been approached and stated his desire to come in and the other is also a certainty. So altogether we are going to have a new atmosphere in Toronto.

Both of these new people are going to be good additions. They are our first gains from our work in the mass movement. One of them I turned up in the club that I am working in. His father is one of the old timers and still active workers in the club. He has real roots in the movement. With him not only are we going to gain a better feel of the movement but we are entering into the campus—a field where we have nothing but where I think there are considerable possibilities. While I turned him up and did most of the work on him some of our younger people with whom I soon put him in contact did a great deal also. Our youth work must take full credit for the other addition. This girls father was a CP-er some years back now somewhat disillusioned. She is a bit sectarian, somewhat impatient for the day but very good and will be straightened up with little difficulty. We have another excellent contact in the youth and our work generally is the most promising in that arena—we are turning up a considerable number of persons who at this stage seem to have possibilities.

The work in the adult group is only starting to get underway again in most areas—The election appears to have been a most titanic effort requiring some

period to recover from. High Park is opening up with the matter of my membership. The provincial executive has tabled making a definite decision on this matter until its next meeting, sometime in the next week or so. I and the High Pk club received copy of the executive minutes. The provincial secretary really attempted to do a job on me—raise the old force and violence charge, motives etc. It seems that there is some support for me—at anyrate his motion to refuse membership allowing appeal to the cou cil was defeated. One of the arguments of the opposition were recodred. They did not invite me or the High Pk executive to attend. In view of this I have sent them a simple two page defence of myself against the charges and posing the question as it really is. The High Park leaders think it is good and have deciddd to recognize receipt of the last minutes by re-affirming their desires that I be granted membership. That is how things stand at the moment.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Fitzgerald should have informed you of the above but apparently he has been too tied up to get onto the minutes. Must break-this off. I have a little job that I must get on with right away. Will pick up tomorrow

September 18, 1953 ✓

Dear Percy;

Thanks for the note and its accompaniment.

Yes, it would be excellent if you could manage to pay us a visit and something of a little longer duration ~~than~~ than a hello. Often think of you and that key little city of Hamilton but never as you suggest in your note. Being a businessman myself at this time I can well appreciate your claim that you are quite involved—get that way myself—sometimes it seems for days, before I can get around to the other work. I can imagine that yours becomes much involved from the little experience I had with my mother's estate. I am sure that you must have that fear that I have had at such times--the fear of getting drowned and carefully subscribe that antidote for yourself of reserving time once a week to read the southern journal ~~and~~ Are your subs in good order --if not be sure to let me know. Which reminds me that I must write more often for it. I suppose you read the two on the recent elections.

Last week we supplemented our strength—for the first time in awhile—not that we couldn't have done so sooner but our orientation requires considerable care. While we are going forward slowly we are going forward much faster than the developing conditions. At lot of struggles are breaking out in the labor movement but rather than a rising militancy they reflect increasing pressure from the employers and a considerable buoyancy of workers resistance. All this appears at this time to be developing outside the political movement in which we are working--here the forces of history are at work but scarcely observable. My application which has at last come up is absorbing the bureaucracy's time and the time of my club which solidly backs it.

Now that you are becoming a vested interest I hope you or someone working with you are keeping tab of the health of Canadian economy

with warmest regards

Ross

September 19, 1953

*Don*  
Dear Dotzerts;

It is raining today so no one is around and I can get to work on correspondence. I meant to write you upon my return from holidays but there have been a lot of things going on. But first I must express my dissatisfaction that you did not take advantage of the facilities that I threw open for you when you were here. Didn't Barry tell you that I arranged to leave the key to my apartment at the office so that you could take it over during your stay. Barry was supposed to drop down and pick it up the day I was leaving but did not appear. I left it on the office table anyway. And I was surprised upon my return to find that you had not taken advantage of my offer to turn that cosy little convenient apartment to you.

And what had kept me so busy. Well, of course during the elections I let many of the office details slip by and I had to catch up. I think I sent you copies of a couple of our literature efforts. The propaganda in my riding was generally determined by us—I wrote three or four press releases and they were turned over to the papers without any significant changes. I would have done more if we had had more room to maneuver—the cartoon leaflet as you must have concluded after going over it was mostly our effort. Unfortunately the club responded very poorly and I had to do much more canvassing than I had intended. The canvassing was good however. ~~Went~~ I did about 10 polls and turned up about 50 people that we will have to work on in the coming fall and winter. Never met one person who expressed any view to the left of that of the OCF national policy although in the last few weeks I have been putting aside one night a week to work on our contacts and have found that several of them are quite friendly to a more left view when they hear it spelled out. In the process of the campaign the few really good elements around the club came closer to us. In fact we have a couple of additions now—and very very good ones too.

Not only two we have these additions but we have ~~several~~ a few more who are extremely close to us. This is the first event of this kind for us for some considerable time. As you can appreciate we are more careful these days. Not only are our working forces increased but we widen our contact and our work will no doubt improve...not that there are any secrets of how to work ~~in~~ unknown to us but with natives we will get a better feel of things.

Things are opening up on the trade union front. This doesn't reflect any real change in objective conditions. This rash of strikes in Ontario don't denote any rise in militancy in my opinion but a get tough policy of the bosses and a buoyant response by a powerful and undefeated labor movement. The progress we are making flows from the continued work we have been carrying on. Vern will no doubt take over plant stewardship in his shop in the coming election. Doug Carr is coming back around. He was a delegate to the TLC Ottawa convention—perhaps you saw reports of a couple of good stand he took there. He has several good types around him who are anxious to start building a caucus in the Toronto TLC against the bureaucracy. Last night he hauled me up to his place to meet them and old man John Buckley for many years secretary treasurer of the congress and the Toronto council now retired. I have contacted some persons who have been long known to us and it looks like we will be having an organized caucus in the TLC.

I have also been writing the odd letter to the Sask Commonwealth to put over some ideas and get better known. My membership is before the provincial executive still. The provincial secretary Ken Brydan attempted to get the executive to turn down my application out of hand. He made the traditional force and violence charge among others. However there seems to be some support for me--my club is solidly behind me.--and the matter was postponed till the September meeting. I have sent them in a letter answering Byrdens 's charges--the club has sent in a repeat request that I be accepted and it is now before them again. One of the executive members urged me should that body refuse me to take the whole matter to the provincial council which I will certainly do.

Have you been getting the Militant--There are two articles on the elections one before and after-- never mind, some one of those Yanks will be coming over and telling you all about the Canadian situation shortly. You really must take out a sub. I am enclosing a couple of clippings that have been forwarded to us here. I thought you might be interested since they come from your area.

All the clubs of the mass movement are getting ready for fall work. Most of the clubs should be receptive to some serious educational programs. The one thing that was obvious in most ridings was that the old cadre of the party is worn out and many of the new elements who have been around lacking any real grasp of socialist ideas have become demoralized. There is a real feeling in many of the clubs that we have to do a job of educating new forces who will be able to bear up under adversity. ~~There are~~ ~~many~~ ~~clubs~~ ~~that~~ ~~are~~ ~~starting~~ ~~a~~ ~~little~~ ~~paper~~ ~~of~~ ~~our~~ ~~own~~ ~~out~~ ~~my~~ ~~way~~ ~~which~~ ~~may~~ ~~blossom~~ ~~out~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~broad~~ ~~left~~ ~~organ~~ ~~who~~ ~~knows~~. The youth work is developing most favorably--our forces are learning how to work much better ~~and~~ ~~are~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~position~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~some~~ ~~real~~ ~~experimenting~~ ~~in~~ ~~this~~ ~~field~~--and now we have some strength on the campus of the biggest university in the British Empire.

And what is doing down your way. Drop us a line on developments first chance you get.

fraternally

Ross

September 29, 1953

Bullock

Character from afar = Joe Matthews (?)  
(US refugee)

Dear Reg;

Sorry to be so long in picking up that letter—there have been all kinds of little things popping up in the way. In the meantime I have the lengthy letter re the character from afar and the minutes also.

I see we have much of the same old trouble—that we have a group of people or at least several who think that everything in the business of the club is everyone's business and is to be thrashed out in full debate—persons who have no confidence of anykind in the ~~leading bodies~~ the leading bodies that they have set up and the persons who constitute these bodies or who have no conception whatever of the kind of party that we have concluded is necessary to be built in order to achieve our task.

Fortunately for us down here we have through a long experience been able to develop to a point where comrades appreciate that there are certain things that it is inadvisable in the interests of the movement to have thrown out on the floor and made common property ~~immediately~~. We have even developed to the point where the PC has considerable prestige as a body that contains the best persons, persons who to the best of their ability and in the face of circumstances conduct themselves entirely in the interests of the movement. With out PC members themselves at all suggesting it many of the more ticklish questions, more debatable ones are referred to the PC for its more rounded consideration and recommendation. For instance there was debate in the club as to whether we should accept the two new persons now or wait till we had the co-op functioning. Scheme, I don't know whom after some considerable discussion had taken place suggested it be referred to the PC, everyone, yes everyone agreed. The PC discussed it, made a decision, it was reported in full, the recommendation was discussed, everyone seemed satisfied that all had been heard and the recommendation was adopted unanimously.

~~It is really~~ It is really ~~an~~ unfortunate that the character from afar became a subject of group discussion. Perhaps on this occasion there will be no repercussion but under certain circumstances this could well lead to something serious...a deportation, a jailing, who knows. It makes one wonder about the future security of the movement when it will be faced with real problems of security. No one here knows anything about this person except myself, but out there everybody knows all.

First of course there just shouldn't be any chance words and incidental references so that anyone outside of the contact person and the committee knows anything about the matter. If any problems develop, if this person has any suggestions these should be the property of these persons and these alone. I know from my own experiences that sometimes no matter how careful one is a chance word drops out. The atmosphere should be such that should this come about that persons hearing the chance word ~~must~~ are told that for good reasons this matter is not to be the property of the group and that nothing more is to be said about the slip up—the atmosphere should be such that any and every comrade accepts this and says nothing more about the chance remark he overheard.

A danger and inexperienced comrades particularly if the movement is not directed at the time towards any really inspiring and interesting outside work are usually hot for having everything out on the table. But all our older comrades now have developed sufficient prestige to overcome this naivete and inexperience. We will certainly have to go about building this situation up out there or boys are really going to have difficulties when things get tough, when we have to function more as an army to the commands of persons with whom we have had a long period of experience and trust in.



I am really surprised that this whole matter could have got to the stage it did...that the group wasn't at all satisfied that there were security needs here. I see of course that he made suggestions that would if operated on very much involve the club...and not just Vancouver but all of us. I do see why even though others mistakenly heard about it all that they would not be satisfied with a security explanation and the knowledge that the matter was being discussed by the two tops there in closest contact with the tops here. If his proposals had been operatable of course they (the proposals) would have become the property of the group that had to operate them—indeed they would have become the property of the entire group for they would have very much effected us all. But the proposals stopped almost at the moment they started—they would never have had to go past the contact and the two tops there—~~xxx~~ the next stage it would seem to me would be the PC. Even if they had been operatable I would think that it could possibly have come to pass without our character from afar stepping into the limelight.

And the other matter—Kelly. Sort of more of the same thing. How did it come up on the branch floor. The communication was not sent to the branch. Of course sooner or later it should go to the floor but at this stage it was information sent to the NC members and I think I suggested that Hugh be shown it as he was in on the whole deal. I would think that it going to the branch ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the how and the when, was a matter for us to consider in consultation. Of course it went to Toronto but they were up to their neck in it—even then you know that it was stalled all during the investigation. There was nothing that Toronto could do—we were faced with a resignation and we did everything to stop it when this became no longer possible Toronto was informed. I am surprised that the first reaction to the whole matter we hear was not from the persons to whom the information was sent but from the club itself. In my own opinion it is not at all a good situation to always have one of the two bases of the party coming up at loggerheads with the top body. Of course there is nothing sacred about the top body but it seems to me that the building up of a leadership that has credit in the eyes of the subsidiary bodies is one of our most important tasks—and one that everyone of us should go about attempting to do. Of course the credit that a leadership enjoys is determined by its conduct, its ability. ~~xxx~~ Everyone's responsibility is to help it build this credit, aid it to function

The comment in the minutes really stuns me. Here is a person who has a record in the movement, he was reprimanded by the convention, who slanders another person—after all the finding of the control commission is I take it of some importance—and then resigns. He walks out of the movement, deserts it, refuses to accept a decision of the branch in which he works or the PC. He is a deserter. And yet there is nothing said about any of this, not a word. He is made out to be the injured person, not branded but pitied. The criminals are the Toronto group who are still carrying on the battle and the PC who bent over backwards to hold onto this person. It is hard to read the minutes and to believe them.

The minutes read ~~xxx~~ "It was also felt that any objection—however slight—should have been sufficient to halt steps in this direction"...the direction of recruiting I assume from the previous sentence. I hope they are not referring to the recruitment of the two new people for this all took place long after and has nothing to do with the matter. I assume they are referring to Houston. But we were not at all free agents in this matter—this person obviously knew all about us and re-applied as the record shows at no request on our part. We were faced with acceptance or refusal of an individual case.. The minutes continue—any objection ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ however slight should have been sufficient to halt steps in this direction.." Now I assume since the whole matter hit the floor that the document on the case was read for everyone's information. As the record showed we had no inkling of any objection to this persons application, Henderson was the only person there and her objection as you recall was only that he should be put on a probationary basis. Hardly I think an objection"however slight". The minutes continue—That we impress on resident NC members our objections—Objections to what???? apparently not to Kelly's disgraceful conduct No, people seem to be worried as to whether the constitution has been upheld during all this on every jot and tittle.

investigate whether the constitution has been upheld and report back. The case of course is crystal clear to me—that some don't see it is nothing to get upset about, it's just unfortunate that we all don't see eye to eye. And of course it is the meetings right to enquire as to whether the constitution has been upheld. But it strikes me as goddamn odd after all the experiences we have gone through, the details from the minutes that show that all the basis was there long ago to expell the main person involved, the fact that he resigned (was not expelled, no disciplinary action taken of any kind) and the executive stepped back and threw the whole matter into the hands of the CC to be gone all over again and then in the face of all the efforts to see that everything was handled properly he still resigns—we still get a sort of declaration of independence from Van. Toronto not only accepted the report but solidarized itself with the executive by asking that they be expelled. The guy has resigned, refused to return some party property and Van wants to investigate whether the constitution has been upheld, expresses feelings that Houston should not have been accepted.

Apparently not a word is said against any of these persons, ~~examining the~~ only doubt about the actions of the leadership who are really innocent of anything. What more can be done than to take seriously the alleged reasons for a persons resignation and investigate them—the investigation proves their lack of validity and the persons presses his resignation—what the hell can you do after this. Investigate whether the constitution was adhered to—and suppose if it wasn't to every jot and tittle. As a matter of fact upon closer examination you will find that it wasn't adhered to precisely. The branch accepted Houston, the PC asked it and he was invited to attend without approval of the NC. But what does this all amount to. The NC has been by and large in-operative for a considerable time—that is in that none of the decisions that the PC has made have been challenged or even corresponded about from the point of view of getting more information, nothing has been placed before it for consideration by anyone outside the center. As a matter of fact the PC ~~may be~~ possibly due to many inadequacies on its part but also due to lack of use on the part of outside points has been transformed pretty much into an executive body of Toronto. And so upon investigation they will find that Houston contrary to the constitution was accepted by the PC...the Outside personell never did and as a matter of fact have not yet so much as written a word to the center on the whole matter. So the PC should possibly get its fingers rapped and the outside personell condemned for not letting the PC function as an NC and where do you go from there. I have seen where similar cases as Houston's have come up in the southern PC and I suppose most outside persons do not correspond giving their official approval since on most occasions they would not be in a position to object and then too they possibly think the PC competent to handle such matters. I am sure the PC goes ahead even though it doesn't hear anything from outside. So everything wasn't done according to Hoyle but I don't think anyone can say that this case was mishandled—that it was handled with malice, factionally, bureaucratically.

4.  
--although that is implied.

Quite a situation isn't it. I assume you are going to report back on this latter matter. I hope you are able to make use of this opportunity to place the whole thing in its proper setting. Both of these incidents can be made very educational towards the building of our unified group.

~~But~~ I am certainly interested in hearing your and Hardy's opinion of this all--after I have let loose my little blast above. What is the PC supposed to do in this situation. Are we expected to intervene, to reply to "these sentiments" expressed in the minutes. I am sure Fitz would like to know.

Neither of these matters are what I had expected to continue my letter on--~~however~~ so I will still be continuing first opportunity I get.

I hear from Montreal the welcome information that Lloyd and Tom are applying to the mass movement. Would you amplify if you think necessary the opinion on there on recruiting from the mass movement at this period. We are much interested. I am looking for angles to write and discuss about. Recently received a document from the IEC on this matter or at least related matters. Will send it along as soon as one of the boys manages to finish it.

Must close this off now as I am slated to fill in on an educational tonight. Anxious to let you know of recent developments...the next note will be a more happy one.

warmest regards

H  
BOSS  
-

This note is of course strictly personal.

*M Bédard*  
Dear Jean;

I have just mailed to you 3 copies--Pablo  
2 Quatriems  
3 Germain

One copy of each of Pablo and Germain is somewhat faded by the sun, however ~~they~~ they are completely useable so I am sending them on. These should do you for a while and should you need more I will order them at the time that you send me a list of the books that you said you would want from the French bookstore. I don't know what has happened to La Verité. Perhaps they are in financial difficulties again...although we have been sending more funds over than ever before. Immediately some copies come in I will send them on.

I am typing this note at 11:00 at night. I know that that is nothing for you but it is unusual to me. Lately I have been rushing home after meetings to get on with Charles Beard's The Rise of American Civilization--a terrific book--I recommend to you and of course Marc. I am here tonight as I have just come up from the Labor Temple from a meeting of the Labor Citizen's Committee. And I am working on this note till 12:00. By that time the Zanzibar will be closed and I will drop over to see the cleaner there and find out if he picked up a book that Ed left there on Saturday night.

The Labor Citizens committee meeting was very poorly attended and even poorer in ideas. Murray did an excellent job on challenging the committee's whole attitude towards endorsing candidates--the committee chairman upheld the policy of endorsing only those candidates who "have a reasonable chance of getting elected" and those whom it in its wisdom thinks to be "responsible" types. He also exposed the character of the program that was adopted by the meeting...it had been outlined by the committee leaders. They are always talking about the difficulties of getting interest from the workers so Murray raised the matter of the shallowness of the program suggesting that with the national gas pipeline becoming a big issue and Consumer's Gas making a deal with US gas interests for the Toronto area which if it goes through would remove the Toronto area from the Canadian natural gas scheme and make unfeasible the whole idea...that we should consider again the matter of ~~making~~ calling for municipal ownership of the gas company. Toronto now is moving out into a Greater Toronto area council--so he also raised the necessity of the Labor Citizens Committee lifting its sights to endorse labor candidates running in what is now the suburbs of the city. Incidentally he is going to run...for deputy reeve in Ward I of the township and Reg Screen president of the OCM local for deputy reeve in some other ward. The club approved the idea and referred the matter to the executive and the executive has agreed to it although it is only now informing you. But to stick to the meeting. The old man did quite a polished job and a veritable storm developed about the committee not endorsing candidates in the municipalities and only persons whom they ~~considered~~ the executive considered suitable. Nothing concrete came out of it but the big boys felt the heat. I was up talking to Ford Brand after the adjournment of the meeting about arranging a labor Citizens Committee meeting in High Park (I am secretary) and Weissback and all of them were quite apologetic about the situation commenting that they would certainly have to do something about suburban candidates. I spoke about three or four times...sort of points of information you know in order to get known. Everybody there was either a delegate to one of the two councils or an executive member of his local but myself. Afterwards I went around a bit to get to know the boys. Unfortunately there were only about 20 there.

Yes, to get back to running candidates. I think this is an excellent idea. As a

matter of fact David Williams is also going to run in his area. If you don't agree let me know as soon as possible. Unfortunately today workers look upon politics as participation in elections—we have to meet this...get known, get integrated in the masses. Murray as you know has been refused so we have to find avenues for him to work ~~Williams~~. The club in Williams area is finally not going to go to bat for his membership and he is somewhat out in nowhere. We have to get contacts for him. We are running only for posts that the mass movement is leaving unchallenged. This gives us the opportunity to go to the local clubs to ask for their aid in our campaign. We might even consider running as Independent-CCF. But at this stage I think that that would defeat our purposes. If we had much support in the movement against the leadership's keeping us out this might do the trick but at this stage we desire to get support from the ranks and not alienate anyone so I think we should just run as labor candidates. It should be possible to get the South York to carry some of Murray's campaign. He will certainly get his local's endorsement and also some financial aid. What workers he doesn't get we can easily make up. As you know municipal campaigns are not demanding. We will be able to carry ~~Williams~~. As a matter of fact I have just finished a stencil calling together local citizens who are interested in setting up a discussion group—we might get a bit of a machine from there. Do you know—~~xxx~~ it is not at all beyond the realm of possibilities that we get elected.

The executive has held its meeting and has ruled against me—I will now have to get the club to appeal to the provincial council. Only one person according to someone who was there voted for my acceptance—Dave Archer

But before going on with me and we here. Even though now I am only party to the fact that you are going to Paris...I think it is a very good idea. I know that you have always wanted to go. You are in a position to go. Nothing extremely vital compels you to take your vacation here—I gather that you are arranging to go on a vacation—so that your job relations are not even raised. I am sure that the money spent will be well worth it. I should think that you pay could easily handle the \$75 without effecting your standard of living, although I can appreciate that it will cramp your style. But the real sufferer will be Slican and Slotcan not you

I am taking this letter up again Thursday October 8. Have been having conventions down here at the office. For instance at this time Monday there were the following in here—Kit and Jim and her father, an excellent fellow that I met through Doug Carr, Bruce dropped in between classes, Frank Malloy, and then Les' right at lunch hour. Yesterday another one of the students dropped in, Gordon Garbig and a couple of the previously mentioned. The net result is that I can only do the most routine type of job. Today so far I have had only Jim and it is now 1:30 and he has gone. Some of this time is taken up in rather useless conversation but some not. For instance this friend of Carr's is coming along very close to us, he is secretary of his local and has been around the SLP to some extent. Bruce is doing excellent work on the campus. Today he is giving one of the lectures on a series that the club there has projected. Last week Prof. Underhill spoke on The Ethical Approach to Socialism. Bruce is presenting the Marxist view. I have given him some help in this. There is a good possibility of Jimmy getting the nomination for alderman in his riding and of course the preparations to make this possible took some time.

I was looking forward to hearing something about the convention (CCL). From here it did not seem that there was any great opportunities to hit the floor. Rather an interesting development, that jurisdictional dispute between McAuslane and Silby Barrett. Sort of a slap in the face for the executive to have their recommendation turned down by the convention, however possibly it doesn't have the rank and file revolt character that it first presents—probably Millard swung his boys behind McAuslane. I see that Martin Levinson himself was somewhat overcome by the smell of the crap that he has been peddling and passed out in the process of giving his report

Interested in your comments on Macleod. Barry too was impressed by him. Possibly you will recall he thought big vistas were going to open up through him. I have never met him. His wife has been writing a column in the BC CCF NEWS for sometime.



although there is no doubt she is a left winger. She herself is a conscious opponent of revolutionary socialism. About a year ago she started a column discussion on the fight against war. I immediately sent her a group of pamphlets including Lenin on War, the FI Manifesto with a friendly note. She did not bother to reply but did attack the Leninist position in the column ending up with the series which were full of stupid pacifist crap by announcing that she was going to join the Fellowship ~~for~~ of Reconciliation (Quakers) although she had no religious belief. In one of the columns that I have just looked up she mentions that one of her and Alistair's prized possession is an autographed Quaker pamphlet that she extensively quotes. I thought in some other columns that she made some comments on not only her own ideas but her husbands but I could not find them. I used to send them sample copies of LC periodically with a sub blank but they never responded. Yes I know that he went along to the USSR and when he returned and was billed as a speaker at various front meetings I followed his speeches in the hope that they would be something else than a whitewash of the Soviet Bureaucracy. Unfortunately it seems that he reserves this part of the truth on the USSR for personal conversations only—possibly for Trotskyists only too. It is not surprising that the right wing of the CCF is suspicious of him—I am too. It is really too bad that he did not tell the truth on the USSR for of course he would have only further strengthened the real and genuine defence ~~movement~~. He has in the past been very active in the Peace Congress on the West Coast. I certainly think that it is worth while to have some contact with him but I don't think it is advisable to talk to him about us, our orientation etc. He moves too close to the Stalinists for my comfort although I don't have the feeling that he actually is one. ...just an apologist for them. Reg has never had occasion to mention MacLeod but should MacLeod or you start up a correspondence I think it would be highly advisable that we found out what they think out there.

That is good news about Lloyd and Tom. How did you hear about it? Hugh casually mentioned that Lloyd was nosing around. This ~~movement~~ will be a good development. Reg told me sometime back that the in BC provincial election the IWA was really active. Probably he will be coming around us again. He certainly is a fellow with ability.... and has much prestige as you say.

I was going to go in with this letter but Max Armstrong is here and insistently talking to me.

How much do you owe..Wall September is due and now October—plus the batch of pamphlets--\$2.95

Incidentally I have been in contact with Morten. He said nothing about the Dion incident. Charlie is very friendly—he is looking to me to work with him. He is anxious to find ways of working with and through the unions. The present executive he correctly feels is indifferent, unable—he also feels is hostile but here he is mistaken. So I have had several long telephone conversations with him giving him some definite proposals which he thinks are good and which he intends to press. He has invited me to drop in on his home this Sunday night if he is in town,

warmest regards

Ross



October 9, 1953 V

Dear Hugh;

I have meant to write you for sometime now but I am having a harder and harder time to keep up with correspondence. Too many people coming around. Some days we have vertible conventions down here. For instance last Sunday was no sooner here than a very good type of fellow I met at Doug Carr's place one night came in. He is secretary of his local and has been around the SLP to some extent. Had a talk with him until about 12 sold him three pamphlets that I thought would meet the problems that stand between him and our position when it and Jim come in for a social visit. Then another fellow who is a member of the St Pauls club upon whom I have been working dropped in. Then Les came up to have lunch with me. He works not far from here. Tuesday we had more of the same thing with a slightly different cast. Our new student drops down quite regularly for discussions. He is doing excellent work on the campus. On Wednesday he gave a talk on Marxism to the U of T club, about 100 attended. And so it goes. Of course this is what we want this place to be...but it certainly takes up time. Under such conditions about all I can do is routine work that doesn't suffer from lack of concentration.

I showed you last letter with the suggestion that you might take over Murray and Jeanette's apartment when they leave this Spring. Murray thinks it is a good idea. Possibly he has written you about it. Of course Jeanette's approval is necessary. I don't know what they intend to do—Peter is still living on there. They are intending to leave early in the Spring to be there when the conference takes place. We haven't received the date yet.

Today I received a letter from Angus saying that he will be here on Sunday of everything goes well with air reservations. He plans to spend the whole day here. Yes I think it was a good idea to turn the money that you would have had to pay for lodging in PR over to the firm but why send it to a branch office particularly those southerners. Our European friends are pressing us. And while we are on this subject if you can handle it we could do with a donation to the kitty towards the old man's keep. I am within a couple of dollars of cleaning up the last donation. I was down there about three weeks ago (since then Ruth has been down). He is looking much better. We got glasses for him and it seems to have perked him up. He says however that he still cannot see good enough to read...and I gave him a couple of tests with newspaper headlines and he could only read the very largest. He now knows where he is. On previous occasions I would always direct bits of the conversation around to seeing if he knew where he was and why and I always got the impression that he really had no idea. But this last time he told me that he was in an institution where they would not let him out. He had no complaints. Actually the place is not too bad. He doesn't want to do anything and he is kept clean and warm—quite an animal existence. I must contact his doctor in the next week for they said that they would know how successful their penicillin injections had been sometime in October-November if I remember correctly. Ruth says that he responded to her suggestion that she bring life down for him to read so possibly he can read or at least see better than he led me to believe.

If everything goes as planned on Sunday we will be the possessors of the same model tape recorder that you have out there. Les is picking up one in Buffalo this weekend. We are getting it for \$120. Murray and I are splitting the cost of it. Unfortunately we will only be able to use it in Murray's area...the only 60 cycle area yet. I think the first occasion that we get we will be playing off your tape. Too bad it has been so long. Probably much of what is on it is dated. But I hear from Reg that you are sending along another one soon so this problem will be remedied. And now that we have a machine we will be sending you one back—probably taking up some of the questions that are posed in your tapes and telling you some of our own. I understand

that there are such things as mixers up and sorters out for machines recording of this type. Some kind of mechanism so that you record them under such conditions that to play them back you have to have certain data or equipment to make them intelligible. Have you heard of such things. Might be useful.

It is good to hear that Lloyd Whalen is ~~intending~~ trying to get into the CCF. This would be a big lift to PAC work in the IWA for I gather that he to some extent has stood in the way of its development in the past. Are they going to be so stupid as to refuse him. It would seem unlikely since they accepted Reg. It would be good if your membership could be arranged to come up again at the time Lloyd's does. Is Tom making the move too. He was never as much against our orientation I think as Lloyd.

Allen G dropped in here the other night. He is attempting to gain admission to the bar here. Did n't have much opportunity to talk with him as there were many here—it was Saturday night. However Barry's wife is quite disgusted with him...it appears that he has been handling criminal cases out there in Victoria—cases where your prestige as a lawyer rises with your ability to send some poor guy who stole some fishing tackle down for a year instead of six months.

I don't quite grasp your comments on the Kelly incident—that in Van it will probably be turned into a discussion what kind of party we want. We have already received some minutes—the first for many many months. They are quite a surprise to me—here is a guy that has refused to accept the democratically arrived decision of the group, had his wild charges rejected by the CC and he walks out on us—incidentally with \$100 worth of group property. Instead of condemning him the minutes record protest and demand investigation to see if the constitution was upheld. Rather hard to believe. The PC-NC is to be investigated to see if it conducted itself with due respect for every jot of the constitution—not Kelly condemned. The amusing thing is that there is no doubt that the constitution was not followed to the letter. The outside points personell never gave their opinion on Houston's re-admission and we went ahead. This of course was entirely logical for when we asked it we had no idea that it would be picked up by Kelly to justify his final exit and after all outside personell were hardly in a position to have an opinion on the matter. The fact of the matter is that the PC has been carrying on a one man show for a long time. Van never raises any of its problems to its attention for an opinion much less a decision—formally speaking they have not been adhering to the letter and spirit of the constitution for a long time. But now suddenly it become a matter of extreme importance—and not its spirit but its most petty technicality. The real breaker of the constitution and the whole spirit and character of the movement is Kelly. I hope there are forces out there that make this abundantly clear. Of course there is no doubt what kind of party we want. It has been pretty well hammered out over the years. Of course no one challenges Struggle for a Proletarian Party but it is another thing to assimilate it and carry it out. Certainly this incident is full of lessons for us out there—if that is what you mean.

Everything is moving along favorably down here. The youth group passed unanimously on Thursday night a resolution condemning Br intervention in Guiana as an attempt to justify imposing military law—which I see has come to pass from this morning's paper—expressing solidarity with the constitutional demands of the government party. Our student Brady gave a talk on Marxism to the campus club—about 100 were there. Many other interesting developments but more later

warmest regards

Ross

October 22, 1953 ✓

13  
(VAV)  
Dear Hardy and family;

Thanks for the money order—~~the~~ our overseas friends are pressing us hard and it just arrived in time.

Tell everyone we finally had the pleasure of meeting one another again via the tape-recorder. A couple of us dipped into our reserves after a long period of procrastination and bought a recorder. It arrived last week and last night we ran off the tape. Too bad we were so long in getting to hear it as of course it is dated—away back to June. However we did get a good picture of many of the problems that confront you in your work.

Your voices all came through ~~likkas~~ if you were with us—only we couldn't talk back or quize you. But we did n't have time anyway. It must have taken well over an hour—it was quite a bit after eleven when we came to the end. The result was we did not have a discussion after and I dont know ~~xxxx~~ how we intend to return the favor. This will come up at the next get-together. You can depend on us to think up some way so that you can get a fiathful picture of our work and problems.

with socialist greetings

(Paul) Kane

(RD)

October 26, 1953

2. (VAN)  
Dear Comrade Spencer;

I received the letter that you addressed to me this morning. I have not shown it to anyone nor had an opportunity to discuss its contents with anyone--and I am hoping that it will not be necessary. I am hoping that this short note will cause you to reconsider the whole thing and change your mind.

First I would like to say that nobody is accusing anyone of anything. Nor is anyone trying to give anyone else any lessons in Bolshevism. I have glanced over the minutes again that you have taken such exception to and can only note some observations made by one member of the PC on some information (the only information that was available to the PC. I am sorry that you interpret them as accusations and attempts to give lessons from on high--they were certainly not meant as such but as comradely comments on information that was available here--made entirely in the interests of the movement

Let me assure you that ~~whenever possible~~ the PC is attempting to the best of its ability to function in the interests of the movement. No doubt it has made errors and no doubt it will continue to ~~do so~~. However I fail to see what good effect your resignation can possibly have on the situation. And of course whatever we do we want it to benefit the movement. Personally I don't see what I am going to learn by it. I can only see that we are going to function even less efficiently than we have in the past and that has been certainly bad enough.

~~It is gratifying to see that some of the opinions expressed on the PC are completely~~

It is gratifying to see that some of the opinions expressed on the PC are completely at one with yours--~~that the~~ activities entered into were done not only without consulting you people but without consulting me or the branch, and there was hell raised about it there. I am only expecting good to come out of all this. ~~We~~ we now learn that you personally knew nothing at all about this Telford plan and the rather extensive investigations made about it without so much as a word with us. In the light of this I cannot possibly see your resigning ~~but~~ on the contrary I can only see your agreement with the only conclusion that the PC drew--that the secretary tighten up our relations. When you see the branch minutes reporting the Kelly incident I think you will further agree with the PC's reactions.

I may be wrong Spencer but I do not see why you should expect the PC to check up on the accuracy of Thorne's correspondence. We ~~can~~ only assume that the contents of Thorne's correspondence is known to you and that it is accurate. Failing any correspondence from you we can only assume that Thorne's efforts are joint efforts, that you are working very closely together and the views expressed are your common views. If this is not so then obviously attempts must be made to make it so.

I must confess that I do not grasp your comments; "If on every matter the PC discusses you hold me, in advance (without participating in that discussion) to the discipline of the PC..." There must be some misunderstanding here. The PC as I understand it is not trying to tie anyone to anything. It is attempting to discuss the problems of the movement with the NC ~~fratting~~ it is discussing and taking decisions to promote discussion with the rest of the NC members, ~~and~~ its decisions are in essence recommendations to the rest of the NC. Even those decisions which are binding in the sense that immediate action was necessary are certainly not beyond discussion.

In line with this understanding I have consciously followed the policy in Toronto of attempting to lift contentious questions that arise on that branch floor into the PC for discussion and decision by the NC. For instance this question of the advisability of recruitment at this time. ...if I were an NC member in one branch and aware that Van had a strong opinion on a question that was opposite to the ~~opinion~~ in Toronto I would attempt to get the discussion in Toronto lifted temporarily until it could be discussed in the PC-NC.

I would do this not in order to prevent discussion in Toronto, on the contrary. I would do this so that the discussion could proceed most intelligently (NC members would be entering into it after having had the benefit of the opinions of the most able persons in the movement) and with the least danger of dividing our forces. Perhaps I am over sensitive on this latter point...but I think it is an important one. Here we are going to have a situation <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ <sup>where</sup> before the PC-NC even discusses the matter we are possibly going to have a hard alignment of half the movement against recruitment and in this sense in condemnation of Toronto which has been going ahead with a policy which until receiving the last Van minutes we did n't have an inkling was in dispute. I don't think that it is good that we should have such divisions, particularly when it is quite possible that through an NC-PC discussion we might eliminate them.

I am not saying this in condemnation of your promoting this discussion in the branch prior to ~~the~~ taking it to the PC-N.C. I gather this project was underway before we raised it from this end for discussion on the PC-NC plane. But I think it would have been preferable when you sensed yourself or other in Vancouver having a disagreement with what is going down here that you delayed it going to the floor there until you could discuss it with us here. This is just an opinion of mine and I think that we should discuss these opinions and differences that we may have with one another.

I don't know whether this note has been successful in getting you to change your mind, I sincerely hope so. At any rate before you write to the PC I hope you will go around and have a full talk with Thorne. There is certainly no ill will coming from here---we are certainly trying to give the best that is in us---I think that there is much misunderstanding. That is what you must do---help us to clear it up.

warmest regards

Kane.



Wednesday October 27, 1953

Dear Thorne;

*Kelly - Rose - Joe Pollenthal*

Received your lengthy missle yesterday. This is not an attempt to even touch on the important contents of your letter. Sort of a hurried off thing to get to you before Sunday. I gather from a short note from Spencer that you are discussing the question of recruitment then. Too bad we dont have a chance to strighten some of the details up on the PC-NC level beforehand so that the discussion doesn't get muddled up by extraneous matters. But there is one aspect that I want to clear away and can easily do so so that it doesn't figure at all in the discursion. That is the question of the re-admission of Houston.

The PC does not look upon Houston as a latent danger in any other sense than everyone is a latent danger. The PC did nothing to correct ~~anyone's impression~~ the impression that one might get from reading the CC findings because it thought that it was clear that the whole thing was a put up job. There is some information that you should have about the CC report which of course we all here had that will give you added clarity. The other two persons withdrew supposedly on the basis of Houston's application being accepted by Toronto. Their status here is a peculiar one, they had never ever been really part of us, they presented us with a decision on their part and we took it. But then one of them was later put in the position of passing judgement on his own case. It happened like this. Kelly did not really present charges as you recall, He arrived with his resignation propped up by those stupid statements. As things stood they were just a smear of the leadership and a justification of his desire to pull-out. This would have been fine with us except that they smeared a person whom we were now calling comrade and would apparently raise all kinds of doubts about the responsibility and intelligence of the rest of us in the minds of anyone who really wasn't familiar with the situation and these people. He Kelly was ready to walk away and ~~forget the whole~~ leave the nest fowled. But we had a certain responsibility of not letting him fowl the nest as happy as we were to have severed such a rotten relationship. So as you will recall from the minutes I challenged him to present charges. He said nothing so I then moved that we treat them as charges which they really were not so much against Houston as against the rest of us, the party. This was quite a risky business but we took it because the whole thing was a lie from beginning to end. The risk was in the fact that one of the two resident members of the CC was one of these same two persons who had only just retired allegedly on the basis of Houston's re-admission. As I said previously we were put in the position of asking this person to pass judgement on himself. We took this risk because we knew there was nothing in the "charges. Of course this member of the CC (we will call him a) would inevitably attempt in some way to justify himself. He did this by slanting the report. Member b of the CC was not the type of person who disputes with a to any great length. He considered the finding was the best possible compromise that he could get from a. And as a matter of fact once you know that a had used the same charges as Kelly to justify his walking away you can see that a really compromised himself.

o once you understand all the circumstances you can readily see that the CC report is a terrific refutation of the charges and a vindication of Houston not to speak of the Branch and the PC. I dont have the CC report handy but if you will read it again what it says about Houston one might say about anyone—that we must see that he develops theoretically, that he must be more fully integrated. As for the phrase "latent security risk—well isn't everyone—we are not looking for guarantees. His past—well let us say what Lenin said about Kirov I think it was—we wont forget it but it must not be held against him. Possibly the PC erred in brushing aside the charges presented against him as a mish mash of lies and half truths—bu that is what they were. I dont want to bother to go into the whole stroy—suffice it to say that he came in when he was very young—about 18. He had gone to a Baptist college, broke from it went to the CCF, saw its inadequacies went around the LFP then came to us. He came to us when we were at the height of one stage of our struggle against Kelly. Kelly and McAlpine forced his way into the club

against by better judgement. They snared him into their clique, he came to the branch to ~~ask~~ ask for a leave of absence, we didn't grant it to him and he resigned. In the process of resigning he made the stupid statement to the effect that he wondered if the Stalinists weren't right in charging us with disrupting the labor movement—you see he questioned the morality of faction work in the CCF. Not a year later he was back in the CCF and working with us, selling subs to LC—then he returns to Toronto, admits he was all wrong, works about a year with our people then asks to be let back in. It is a damnable lie that he informed on us to the Stalinists—he went around the peace movement and one of their big boys invited him to his home to talk things over and worm information out of him. Naively Houston thought he could match wits with this guy. Of course this is not an attempt in anyway to justify any of the actions of Houston. Just an attempt to explain them. He has many weaknesses possibly a few more than others we have, and then again possibly not. He is one of our best workers. What does the future have for him. In large measure that is up to us. We told him nothing about us prior to his re-admission. He was in our ranks when we had a fraction in the mass movement...and at that time we were quite openly talking about entry. We did not have to tell him anything because he knew about all there was to know.

To have told him that we did not exist would be only understood by such a person to be saying that we don't want to have anything to do with you. When we discussed the matter of his coming back we did not admit we existed—he knew we did. Now of course we were not blackmailed into this admission. If we had refused him he wouldn't have gone anywhere with any information as far as we could ascertain. As a matter of fact he couldn't have given any information that the leadership did not already have. In a conversation almost two years ago with one of our boys one of the top leaders named off everyone of us. Don't think for a moment that they are not spreading it around that we still exist. Of course we deny it and we make every attempt to prevent them getting any kind of evidence. But I would say generally that those who want to believe it have sufficient evidence to satisfy themselves, many others don't care evidence or no evidence. and probably a few say and if they do operate together so what.

There is always the danger that we might have a bit of a falling out and that someone will give them more precise information than they now have. We will have to do everything in our power to assure that this doesn't happen. Our Br friend Houston told all. But it is one thing for the leadership to say we exist with our nefarious purposes and it is another thing for them to prove it. We of course will deny it under all circumstances.

My trend of thought has been broken since the above paragraph by the entry into the bookstore of an old ex CP'er who even if he doesn't know it is one of us...sold him 645 worth of literature including Revolution Betrayed and The Jewish Question.

Incidentally I refer you to the bottom of page 48 in the last internal bulletin that I sent you—it is pertinent to this Sunday's talk.

Sorry this has petered off—will write again on the letter

warmest regards

Ross

November 7, 1953

Dear Hugh;

*Dowson*

*Kelly = Rose*

I meant to send this note onto you a week or so ago—right after I mailed a parcel off to you. I suppose you have been wondering about it. Of course it is one half of an English army officer's field glass. All during the army days I wanted a monocular. Binoculars are so bulky but a monocular will fit into your pocket. Well with the fifty dollars you sent ~~that~~ the use of which was unspecified I bought an army surplus binocular and sawed it apart. I am keeping one half for myself as a gift from you—many thanks I thought that you would find the other half useful on your trips around BC. The whole glass cost \$27.50, the other \$12.50 I am sending over to Europe. The other fifty dollars towards the old man's keep should last for a considerable while.

I haven't managed to get down to see the old man for some while but Lois and Ruth have. Lois thinks that there have been some big improvements in him. Shortly after he went into the hospital they gave him penicillin shots. At that time they told me they would not know the results of this treatment for some 6 to 8 months which means about now. When you go there there are none of the doctors on duty so in the next day or so I will be contacting them to see what they have to say about his condition now.

Re your comments on interpretations out there of the Kelly-Houston affair. I have sent a letter to Reg dealing a little more fully with the Houston case. I hear you are having or have had a discussion on recruitment—in the minutes on this discussion it is recorded that the whole matter of recruitment at this juncture was raised and opposition expressed. I dropped the line to Reg about Houston in the hope that this problem in its more general form which really is an important problem for us would be discussed without being muddled up by comments on Houston. I of course don't know why they should have any misgivings about recruiting Houston—they are hardly in a position to have an opinion on this particular case unless I say unless they take Kelly's stuff as being the truth. I thought it was so obvious that Kelly was only latching onto this question to save face that it was not necessary to exonerate Houston. A mistake apparently. But I think this note to Reg should meet the problem. Yes, I would suppose the situation is somewhat similar to that which would arise there should Lloyd W. approach us.

The whole question of recruitment is an important one. I see the resolution sent out by the IEC on our world work deals with this matter. I have referred Reg to this. Reg raises the question that this matter has never been discussed by us. We discussed it here on the PC and took decisions on it expecting to get some queries from out there but nothing is said until a month or so after. We had no inkling that there was any disagreement. Well we can now clarify the matter. I suppose we all more or less visualized that by about now we would be moving in some kind of modestly broad left wing, that we would be meeting persons who were leftists, that we would be carrying out general leftist work with them and that in the process of this work we would be testing and sorting out the best elements and we would recruit them. Here and it appears to be generally the same for out there there is as yet no left wing of any organized character that we are able to work through and go through experiences with. But there persons that we are meeting in the mass movement who are capable of a fairly rapid development on the basis of club work experience that they now get and close personal contact. We are faced with the problem of what to do with them. Since there is no real movement in the clubs that we are working in we cannot develop them on this basis—there is no broad left tendency of a viable character between us and them and they are driven by these circumstances into a very close relationship with us. Cautiously, and on the basis of a fairly extensive experience with these persons I think we should give them more and more of our ideas. As this goes on successfully I would think that it is inevitable that ~~the group~~ the organization of a group must come to the fore and that we are faced with the opportunity to recruit. Of course there is an element of risk in recruiting but there is an element of

risk in everything. Our responsibility is to keep this to the minimum. It is apparent to me that with our present forces we are unable to really carry out our orientation. ~~There is a great danger of our stagnating if we do not recruit. In the process of our work it is inevitable that we should lose the odd person. What kind of conditions are we looking for before we will recruit. I doubt that we will find the ideal conditions that possibly we are looking for. As things now go when in the process of our work we come across elements that we can really develop it would seem to me that if we adopt a policy of non recruitment we are going to have to hold them off from us and our ideas. As soon as you start to work with people and go through experiences with them they start to draw conclusions many of them as far reaching as any we would draw and possibly some farther so. We have to give them an orientation, a perspective. Here we are all known as Trotskyists and I assume the same holds true there. These persons are going to hear this, There is not just one Trotskyist but several around, they want to know how you as a Trotskyist see things developing and the tasks ahead, the P.I. exists...sure we don't but as a person comes along, meets others like the person he met in his club, the question arises.~~

On the basis of our experience with recruitment we were successful right up until we raised the whole matter for the persons agreement to come in, in hiding our formal existence. This person knew there were Trotskyists

I am taking this letter up again on the 11th. You know we were seriously discussing the advisability of recruiting a fellow ~~for~~ mainly for the reason that we would then be able to give him our perspective and discipline him. He is an excellent type who has read much of our ~~literature~~ literature, identifies himself with it but doesn't understand why others who also read it and apparently approve of it are so lacking in dynamism in advancing it in the clubs—he doesn't understand that we are really illegal in the movement. And although we have attempted to impart to him our method of work we have been unable to restrain his enthusiasm to win everybody and anybody to the full ideas. It so happens that he is now leaving town, unavoidably, but we will meet others no doubt. We have no place to direct him to but direct until at least such times as we get the co-op set up and decide our plans as to how to use it.

But I suppose we can drop this discussion for a while—we will be getting the tapes. We haven't yet made a tape for out there as we are confronted with some difficulty with regards to 60 25 cycle. We would have to go out to Vern's or the old man's. We are thinking of recording our discussion on the WC resolutions but I will mention your suggestion of a report on the situation here. Most of the family got together last Sunday and you will be receiving shortly a tape of it all. I don't know whether Jerry has sent it on yet or not—he wanted to fool around with the machine and there was one side of the tape unused. It is purely a family tape. I hope Jerry put something on the other side for we recorded on that too and in keeping with the family character of the tape it covers a little dispute between the old man and his wife.

We are all now getting deeply involved in our election campaigns—we will be putting out three different leaflets for the three different campaigns. I was out at Vern's last night raising the money from local people which will give us a better idea of our local contacts. We did not bad at all. Tonight I have to go up to see the president of our club in high Park to line him up to carry the battle for my acceptance at the coming provincial council meeting. Had our first study class meeting on Monday night on Br Guinana everyone took a left position but we had quite a job handling the confusionist Temple.

warmest regards

Ross.



November 17, 1953 ✓

*in Bedard*

*The old man - Murray D?  
Houston  
Williams*

Dear Jean;

How about taking a little time out from winding up the affairs of defunct locals to drop us a line. I hear you are quite busy these days from Lois ~~in~~winding up some of these locals which were too weak to carry on. I was expecting to get a line from you following your receipt of the last minutes. I hope you received them ok.

Everyone is fairly busy these days what with the municipal elections coming on—or those who are not certainly should be. Houston has been nominated, the leaflet is now already to go to the press—we are just waiting to get a photo. Williams' leaflet is in the process of being written and the old man himself is in the back room typing up the copy for his. Almost like old times again...except now we are writing to make things more or less acceptable to the better elements in the mass movement saying what really is in somewhat devious ways, as asides. But after all the big purpose of the campaigns is to help force two of our ways in.

Williams has already got a very good response and we should come out of this campaign with heightened prestige. He approached the last federal candidate who was quite enthused about his outline of his program and gave five bucks. I went around to some workers who we had seen about a year ago for the health petition and got a donation out of two of them—one from one and two from the other. A couple that I saw could with considerable honesty say that they were unable to donate. Williams thinks we will get the leaflet distributed by local people. This Saturday we will be making the rounds of the main roads slapping up posters on the posts. The way things look we should be able to cover at least three quarters of the costs from donations picked up in the locality. Williams is quite enthused by the response—last time I saw him he was saying this was the best thing we could possibly have done.

Tonight Houston and friends are getting together to arrange to pick up the money to carry that campaign. The old man's of course is being carried by the local—up to the tune of \$100 so we won't have any trouble there at all. All in all I think the situation is excellent. The old man is supported by the club in the area—not endorsed but all the members in the area are being told that they should vote for him and the next week or so he is going to use to get local people in the area to take over leaflets. Houston has the official endorsement of his club and probably both he and the old man will have the endorsement of the labor council. The latter has n't come about yet—it is up for the next meeting and there should be no hitch.

I see by this morning's paper Young is going to run for the provincial leadership. There was considerable doubt for a long time...I don't know what has made the change. William H tells me that Bryden himself asked him to run so it is possible that Donald MacDonald has been dropped and Young is taking his place against Brown. If this is so Young is a cinch. Well now at least we have some on who we can say is a little better than the other. Right after the convention a mass delegation is barging in on the newly elected council to press for my acceptance. I will be on hand should the delegation want any answer to something new or startling. My club is really hot and the council will at least have to listen. I spent last Thursday night with Pethick who will lead the delegation brushing him up on the arguments. No doubt I will be turned down but it will be good to see what gives. The convention aside from the leadership dispute will be nothing much. There are only going to be resolutions from the council—there will be three, one

supporting the northern miners, no hell, another calling for a nationally owned cross  
 All cross Canada gas line( quite good) ~~not~~ one on housing, nothing much just usual  
 protest, and I forgot one on the use of non dairy edible oils for food making.

Incidentally I shipped the other day a copy each of two late bulletins from the south  
 It appears that everything is going wide open there again. We do not have many copies—  
 we have to pay for the bundles in advance now so I figured one to M— of each would  
 do you both—ok. The paper I see is being used hot and heavy against the position or  
 at least the ~~main~~ claimed to be tendencies of the minority. Haven't received any Outlook's  
 for some while. The reason, I don't know except finally last week I sent them a wad of  
 money just in the possibility they cut us off without telling us because they think our  
 bundle debt was too high. Will send some onto you as soon as they start arriving. ~~xxx~~

Thanks for the money you sent some little while back

I suppose you noticed the suggestion that we take someone else onto the tops and  
 the two nominations—Williams and James. The latter move is <sup>Mc</sup>Alpine's. Of course James  
 should no more be on the tops than fly. As a matter of fact if he were asked I am sure  
 he himself would tell us that he doesn't belong. Williams on the other hand is seriously  
 interested in all the problems of the group and will be a worthwhile addition. You should  
 make known your position on this. ..even though there is something else in the air that  
 may cause us to not act on it. I suggested the other day that perhaps we should recognize  
 that we have not been able to achieve our purpose with the West and that it might be  
 advisable to consider a proposition to have them hold elections in their own group and  
 we do likewise and reconstitute the tops ~~with~~. This is still in a discussion stage and  
 I will be writing you more about it as soon as we get together again and go over it again.

Well what is new with you? Anything of interest in your relations with the mass  
 movement down there? Are you in the inside circle, a club etc. And what does the union  
 situation look like. Are you making any headway, is there anything doing so that <sup>Mad</sup>  
 will continue to keep you there. Have you come across anyone of interest lately. And  
 how is life generally, ~~how~~ do you feel to be back in the old stamping ground, herding  
 and tinking French again. I hope everything is going forward with you plans to go to  
 France this Spring. Murray is holding to the line and I even think Jeanette is no adjust-  
 ed to go. And do you see our Standard friends at all—or Boyer, remember?

We have quite a little circle over in the Wellesley, Sherbourne area now. I suppose  
 Lois told you that she was living only a block away from me now. She has an excellent  
 place, much better than mine for very little more. Last week Gordon G moved into the  
 same block of apartments as I live in. He has three rooms, quite a good deal at \$70.  
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~. So we are getting visitors now and then.

Had a very good discussion class all the details of which I arranged, practically  
 forced the High pk club into, on Br Guiana, last week. The whole discussion was left with  
 Wm H no less the most right wing person there. There were about twelve in attendance. I  
 have it arranged so that we have a discussion group once a month, second Monday. The next  
 one is the place of nationalizations in the mass movements program..which should be an  
 interesting on. Although we are going to have to do some work on building it up.

I see that it is ten o'clock so I had better close off. Drop us a line first opp-  
 ortunity.

warmest regards

Ross



November 26, 1953

Dear Reg;

hastily

Just another note to let you in on some recent developments that are important and might possibly have some effect on our work out there.

The enclosed clipping gives a fairly accurate report on a dispute that the CCF bureaucrats dragged into the Toronto CCL Council over Murray's endorsement. The request for the endorsement came through to the council from his local along with the request that the council endorse the local's president Reg Screen. As you can see from the newspaper report the shennanigans of the PAC bureaucrats were on the verge of being defeat when Archer, the president threw into the air the ~~shennan~~ question of Trotskyism. Following that most of the delegates abstained. In the attack against Murray Archer mentioned in passing that the council was not going to endorse others among them a chap who is running as an official CCF candidate who is also characterized as a Trotskyist. However this was lost in the hullabaloo over Murray.

Unfortunately no one took the floor the protest against this dragging of the red herring onto the floor. What is going to come of it is not too clear. In the Star report Archer is made to say that Murray is already a member of the CCF. It is possible that the Ontario leadership will be sending in a letter to protest this and make known the facts. The reaction among those CCFers that I have met in the past few days is one of indignation that Archer should make this matter a public one. As you know one of the arguments of those who have opposed our acceptance as members has been that the press will take it up and "smear" the CCF with the charge of being a slow boat to Trotskyism. Well one of their own was the man to make it a public issue. It is possible that there will be some protests from the odd club although this is doubtful--the witch hunt is on and most of these people are ~~being~~ afraid of being labelled one too. We have been putting the bug in various peoples ears to write a letter into the press protesting this witch hunting act however we do not know if there will be any results. Most of us are much too well known and to varying degrees under the gun ourselves in the clubs. It probably wouldn't do us any good to be identified in the public press as taking Archer to task.

This incident follows on the heels by about 28 hours my appearance before the Ontario Provincial Council re-inforced by an eight man delegation from High Park requesting acceptance of my membership application. The convention of the day previous to choose an Ontario leader must have seriously shaken them. The candidate of the machine only scaped in by 7 votes over the candidate of all the dissidents of many stripes. Instead of stepping back and attempting to make contact with this powerful but of course extremely confused and fairly ineffective opposition it appears that they are out for blood. The delegation for my acceptance did an excellent job but the machine really made a colossal effort to block their bid for my acceptance. The question took over the whole afternoon session from 2 to 5. High handedly they did not let me into the session until the last half hour which they reserved for me to give about a 10 minute

explanation of why I should be accepted and the remaining 20 minutes to answer questions. Needless to say all the questions were heavily loaded. First not having been there the previous 2 1/2 hours I did not have too good a feel of what the implication were of various questions. Nearly all the questions were of the type "Are you going to stop beating your wife, answer yes or no." Unknown to me the considerable support that the delegation had been able to muster had more or less come to an understanding that every thing would hinge on my reply to a question as to whether I do or do not support the 3rd World Congress Manifesto on War. I was asked this question ~~xxx~~ so I picked it up by stating that my impression of the document was that there would be a world war unless the socialist movement was able to come to power in some of the important countries of the world--that wars and depressions were and integral part of capitalism and would only be done away with through the removal of that system. But that did not satisfy them. The provincial secretary read sections where the manifesto made a general historic evaluation of reformism as a prop of the capitalist order. Did I believe that--answer yes or no. I replied that obviously I did not think that true of the CCF or I would not so much as contemplate joining (there was no possibility of telling them what that meant, you know) nor did I think it true of the BLP which was the organized expression of the British working class, although of course I did not agree with many aspects of Attlee's policies which I understand many of you here do also. But that would not satisfy them. I was of course strongly tempted to really attack them for this whole McCarthyite atmosphere, this persecution for "dangerous thoughts" this whole questioning of motives. However I was hardly in that position. I know the delegation supporting me would have been totally unprepared for such a thing. The last two nights I have been out working in ~~xxx~~ the campaign to get one of the club members elected to the council. Everyone has been extremely friendly. The general remarks so far have been that --the brass was just out to get me and that no matter what answer I gave everything would have been the same. This club has been strongly anti-leadership for a long time.

In so far as Murray is concerned there is as yet little evidence that we can go on. However last night he spoke to the CCF youth group in the area and had a fair reception, some questions about the Monday Incident and what was Trotskyism etc. but nothing more. I gather that it was appreciated that the whole question was a red herring. Shortly after this one of the leading members in the local adult club asked for enough leaflets to cover a sub-division.

Generally where possible we are making a strategic retreat. Not that this amounts to much as we have not even yet due to the general condition of the movement pushed out very far. For the last two months the membership of one of our youth has been the subject of big debate in one of the youth clubs. We have decided to drop the matter. Some of us however get a feeling that there may be a general drive against us. Most of us are in the fortunate position of never formally being identified with the Independent group and we will be able to fight this campaign should it develop on the straight basis that it is heresy hunting. McCarthyism in the mass movement

I must close this off---early next week the tops will be abating you out its opinion on the eruption to the south of us. It has had no bad effect here at all. I think that the contents of this letter should be the property of everyone before you destroy it.

warmest regards

Ross

November 30, 1953 ✓

Dear Reg;

Again just a short line. Really tied up in knits right now and for the rest of the week with the various election campaigns. I personally don't take the Spencer resignation too seriously and I don't suppose he or anyone else does. I know that you and others have been having to carry the ball. In my reply I am just doing my duty..I hope that there is nothing there that offends you in any way shape or form.

I think myself the idea of re-elections is a good one. I am sort of hoping that Ray will take it for the north

Be sure to give us your opinion, and others, of the document on the int'l and SWP situation. We haven't yet received the majority analysis of the tow/main documents for the coming world assembly. I have some criticisms of the documents--I believe they reflect some soft on Stalinism tendencies. However I am not for surrendering the international to anyone--but for a clarifying struggle within it

warmest regards

Ross

December 2, 1953 ✓

Dear Farrell

Following the drawing up of the enclosed document we received your note of the 27th. This enclosed statement was drawn up to be circulated in our own group with a copy going to Europe and one to yourselves. This document was our opinion as of November 29. At that time we had not received Against Pabloist Revisionism nor had we received your revelations as to Quatrieme Internationale's comments on Iran.

Your Open Letter was like a bolt from the blue. Our connections have always been very poor with the International and the various sections. Our relations with Pablo have been most fraternal--they have amounted to our sending the odd report, their making some general favorable comment and our sending them whatever money we could scrape together. We had no complaints and since we have had poor connections with the sections were totally unaware that anyone else had any. Some of us have occasionally noted tendencies in the movement with which they disagreed however we have never had any experiences which could be pulled together into anything meaningful. So as I say your Open Letter came as a shock. In everyone's opinion an unprecedented and unjustifiable act. We are at a loss to understand why your differences are not being expressed through internal channels--particularly when we are so close to a world gathering. It is my opinion that you have prejudiced your getting a proper hearing on the political issues at stake by this ~~gross~~ utilization of the press, by this taking of the dispute to the public. The International to most of us here is a very precious thing. We are not at all prepared to toss it aside but should it need to be reshaped are prepared to re-shape it

Its reform does not appear to be your position and not just from your taking this dispute to the public but from your defiant recognitions of the French majority. We assume the whole affair there will be up for examination when the gathering takes place--and in the light of subsequent developments it may be that we have to reconsider the whole thing. But I myself do not feel that any principle was violated by the leaderships intervention in France as your letter suggests. We intend to be at the gathering and will line up with any forces that we think it advisable to do so.

I have not yet read your Against Pabloist Revisionism. I have received your copy and hastily flicked through it before loaning it to one who at the time was in a better position to examine it. But even a casual glance through it tells me that you take up several aspects of the document that I disapproved of. Off hand it appears that we see eye to eye on the political aspects of the question. Should this prove to be the case we will present these views to the world gathering.

fraternally

Ross Dawson

December 14, 1953 ✓

Dear Reg;

I have received your lengthy and informative letter...extremely pleased to hear for the first time that we are running candidates. Also much interested and favorable to your comments on the southern and international dispute. Thought our statement as I understood it was more neutralists than it appears to be. However what we need is a little time and exchange of information--and it is now only coming in. I intend to write you at considerable length on this matter but must get this letter away right now as it is 4:30 and tonight I have to go to a social of the club I am working in--more or less a result of my pressures.

So again a short line. This time to ask you to the best of your ability and ~~with~~ in keeping with the traditions that you have long established to welcome a friend of ours who will be in your big city any day now. I have given him your address so you will be first to see him. He is Chinese and on his way in a devious manner from having stayed in France for 3 years to getting back in the struggle in the East via Japan. He had been promised some aid in returning to the East by our friend who raised so much suspicion amongst us a few months back. This friend was to have met him in Calgary but there is a cross up--he is now in Paris and wants our friend to wait for him till he returns. Unfortunately Ho (that is his name) is without resources and we will have to give him a hand. I have advanced him some funds out of what we were going to turn over to the international--he promises to pay it back upon contacting our suspected acquaintance. It was not much when you get down to it and so he probably has little to go on. One thing of course we can do is to put him up somewhere. I would suppose this could be done with little expense or trouble to anyone if we worked out a rotation schedule. Hugh should be able to co-operate, along with others. It will ~~markmarkxham~~ also be quite interesting. My impressions of this comrade are very good. I would suggest that you ~~ask~~ have, say \$25 from the next MO you intended to send in, deducted and turned over to him. I think that this should see him through for a couple of weeks and he is able to make arrangements with Pedro.

As you will see from the enclosed note I received from him he may not go on to your city if things can be arranged in ~~Calgary~~ but I am sending you the information just in case he lands on your doorstep tomorrow

warmest regards

Ross

Destroy this note, OK? Give Ho the one signed Mark



(A reviewer)

Dear Mr. McAree

While more often than not finding myself in disagreement ~~XXXX~~ with your views I have always followed your column with interest. It was with some expectation that I picked up your column containing your opinion of Winston Churchill's book "Triumph and Tragedy".

You state that ; "So far as the rest of the world was concerned Churchill, Roosevelt and Truman had no other wish than that there should be set up the kind of governments the people wanted." Come, come, you will have your readers thinking that you scarcely open the books that you review.

You will recall Churchill's report of the conversations that he had with Stalin in Moscow in October 1944. He reports in "Triumph and Tragedy";

"The moment was apt for business, so I said, 'Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Roumania and Bulgaria. We have interests, missions, and agents there. Don't let us get at cross-purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have 90 per cent predominance in Roumania, for us to have 90 per cent of Greece, and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia?' While this was being translated I wrote on a half-sheet of paper:

"Roumania: Russia 90 per cent- The others 10 per cent.

"Greece: Great Britain (in accord with USA) 90 per cent- Russia 10 per cent.

"Yugoslavia: 50-50 per cent.

"Hungary: 50-50 per cent.

"Bulgaria: Russia 75 per cent- The others 25 per cent.

"I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set down...

"After this there was a long silence. The pen capped paper lay in the center of the table. At length I said, 'Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an off-hand manner? Let us burn the paper.' 'No, you keep it,' said Stalin. So I did."

I would suggest that this is far from upholding your contention that Churchill wished that the people should set up the kinds of governments that they wished. WHILE framing all his speeches with the glittering promises of the Atlantic Charter Churchill confesses that he was cynically carving up the world with Stalin in utter contempt for the needs and aspirations of the peoples of the world. In this monstrous plot he had as an accomplice President Roosevelt (see his notation on the assignment of Greece) and we must suppose our own government of the time for it is hardly likely that such significant decisions could be made and carried out without bringing the top layers of the world powers into cognizance of them.

sincerely

(R.D.)



December 23, 1953 ✓

Dear Don and Joan;

Just received your note a few minutes ago and at the same time recalled that I failed to answer your last letter. It is of course right that you should call this to my attention--I have been slipping somewhat in correspondence. A lot of other little odds and ends seem to have taken up my time--although I must tell you that I had put aside this afternoon to pick up some of the correspondence.

Yes we received the postal note dated October 30th and not only that --the interesting material that you sent along with it. I have shown everyone the picture of the secretary with her fellow executive members basking under the portrait of J.S. Woodsworth. The Essex County Newsletter is quite interesting somewhat better and on a bigger scale than the one we have managed to go to press with once so far--written with quite a flare. Of course we utilize our paper to put forward political views, didn't write up club events in such detail, put them in mostly in advertisement form. But probably this is the first newsletter Essex has put out in a long time and must be considered a considerable achievement. How did the study group you announced come off--the topics were certainly of a type that would permit a wide discussion. The unity of the constituency clubs in the country would seem to me to be a good idea. High Park for a long while was one of the few ~~clubs~~ in Toronto that had two clubs in the constituency. Last spring they were amalgamated and this was really a recognition of reality. The one club for a variety of reasons had dwindled away to very little and was in reality being kept alive by the members of the other club going over to its affairs and propping it up, in fact both were somewhat debilitated with the executive members of each club being the same persons who were the executive members of the constituency. We have amalgamated the two clubs with the hope of eventually reorganizing the one I think generally to the benefit of the movement. If I were living in the riding I would have been able to take on the organizers job in the one area were in effect we have pulled back however I don't. How has the amalgamation effected us--has it put us into contact with more of the activists in the county and freed us from doing so much of the drudgery that maintaining a declining club would mean in this present period of decline in political interest?

As for the postal note; \$8.40 went to clear up back debts and 16.60 to good and welfare--many thanks. Glad to hear that there are two elements in the Windsor CCF--those who wouldn't hesitate to prostitute themselves for the mighty UAW dues dollar at election time, who support Watson, and those in opposition. Your findings are bearing out what we have found pretty well everywhere. If the CCF proved to be only of the former there would not be much probability that the workers would go through a CCF experience--in the next upsurge they would bypass it. But we have found in many locals where the CCF brass has the leadership that the opposition, other than the odd Stalinist, is also CCF--CCF rank and file..

~~XX~~

Since you have moved I am wondering if you received the letter we sent out on one of the main developments in the international--for us the start gun--the Open Letter that appeared in the Militant. If you have not received

the letter I think you should go around to the old address for it. If you have received it you will recall that we said that we were not taking sides on the merits of this or that sides position in the US dispute, that we recognized both as legitimate tendencies in the movement, we again affirmed our solidarity with the international, our intention to participate in the WC etc. This document expressed our viewpoint at that time, of course much has gone on since then--it also expressed our collective viewpoint and did not give much scope for our individual tendencies. This is how things stand officially at this time. We are receiving and circulating bulletins of both sides and have enquired as to the possibility of having speakers up from both sides. One of the surprising things about the whole dispute is the scarcity of information up here. Only today I learned that Buffalo was with the Cannonites. I had thought that they had strong minority tendencies and had pulled out with them. Of course we heard early in the dispute that Detroit-Flint was minority.

My own opinion--well I will give you a bit of its evolution. On the struggle as it has developed in the US for the past year or so I was very early sympathetic to the majority, to a large extent I must admit because of the hullabaloo that the minority was raising and my inability to make out what it was that they wanted, then certain tendencies that I thought I detected in their ranks, a certain tendency to be conciliatory towards Stalinism--reflected at this stage in what I felt was an undue attention to it in our work. I read about the charges of Stalinophobia flung at the majority, examined it, found no truth in it and concluded that the opposition must in some way be Stalinophilic to be carrying such a campaign. Then came Clarke's item in the FI on post Stalin Russia where he put forward the idea of the bureaucracy sharing the power with the proletariat--too much for me. I read the basic majority documents presented to the June SWP plenum and agreed with the majority resolutions, not the minority amendments. If I were in the US I would be with the majority, MD however I gather would be with the minority.

Of course the matter has gone much further than that. I suppose you are subscribing to the southern press, and that you saw the Open letter to the World Movement, that you have been following the polemical articles against the international that have been appearing in its pages ever since. and that you have read the IEC resolution on Stalinism and the SWP plenum criticism of it (you should have received this bulletin by now although of course it went to the old address. it is hardly necessary that we adopt a position on an internal dispute within the southern group although any ideological dispute there must have much interest for us. However now as you will see from the SWP Discussion Bulletin and even more so by latest issues of their press the dispute has broken out within the entire international.

Not only has the dispute broken out within all sections for it involves basic ideas of the international but the SWP has carried it forward to the extent of calling for a new international leadership and as I understand things a new international centre. I am afraid that we here have not been very sensitive to the line that the international has been taking on recent revolutionary world developments...Iran, France and the East German upsurge in particular. That is not too surprising--we have no differences amongst ourselves here and are very busy in our own work--we don't have a paper and so are not confronted with making detailed analysis of world developments or examining from an extremely critical viewpoint the stands that the international does. The SWP was however in a political dispute and as it developed it found its roots in difference of approach to these questions. Lenin himself didn't understand the depths that collaborationism had permeated the German Social Democracy even in 1914 although he well knew Menshevism in the Russian party earlier than 1903...on the basis of his own more immediate experiences.

When I finally got around to reading the IEC document on Stalinism which you must have received in October sometime (It is called International Information Bulletin September 1953 I-Resolution on The Rise and Decline of Stalinism) I had some grave doubts about certain formulations---for instance its setting up for me what was a new calendar since the October Revolution---it characterizes the period between 1923-43 as a ebb of the world revolution---its line that we work in the CP's in those countries where the Stalinists have state power and these parties are organs of oppression of the workers and not hold out as the cardinal task that of building new Trotskyist parties. The document instead of giving direction to the movement holds out all kinds of possible developments leaving the door open for all kinds of interpretations. The SWP Discussion Bulletin on the resolution brought all my doubts to a head by showing how their minority had interpreted the line to bring into question our line of political revolution in the USSR etc. I would strongly urge that you read the IEC document over closely again and then pick up the SWP bulletin. The latter expresses pretty well my ideas. I support Cannonism in the international and not Pabloism. If you are reading the Militant these days, and I hope you are, you will see that the ~~Stalinist~~ SWP is carrying the fight on a big scale publicly against the international leadership. Cannon is apparently of the opinion that the international leadership has so seriously deafened the moved with its Stalinist conciliationism that it is not possible to do anything other than take it to the public. I am not too sure that I agree with this. At anyrate as things stand here now everyone is still going along with the idea that we are for fighting it out at the WC. Here in Toronto we are still discussing the bulletins, next week the discussion is taking the form of a debate between the two positions...my impression is that the majority of the group support the SWP however that has not at all been decided--you see the dispute is not at all, misoly SWP versus majority SWP but it is SWP majority versus international leadership. We are in no hurry to make a decision but to get the most out of it all educationally. Let me know how you are thinking next time you write.

My personal address is Ernescliffe Apartments, Apt 55, 477 Sherbourne Street. But don't send my mail there as I only open the mail box about once a month. We don't have any difficulties at 623. I think the difficulty we had in the past was when we moved out of 225 Grenadier and the mail was going back and forth from Murray's to Ruth's away out in Applewood Acres. Hugh has been living at Biltmore Hotel, 1124 Robson Street, Vancouver. Right now I understand he is off on his honeymoon. He has been going out with a girl he met there who is a school teacher, a German if I remember correctly. When he wrote last he was talking about getting married during the Christmas holidays and they taking their honeymoon up the Fraser Valley. He is intending to return as soon as she finishes here teaching term this summer.

It is good to hear that you have turned up a couple of more or less advanced workers, who understand in some way the role of the leadership of the unions and the mass movement. I hope you can find the time to do some real work on them politically. Will have to come out there myself to test your new facilities for bedding comrades down.

and a happy new year from the Toronto gang

Ross

December 28, 1953 ✓

*Fullock Carlson sent*

Dear Reg;

As I picked off the above letters I suddenly realized that I have just picked up that new ribbon for the typewriter which I agree we need. However: in the belief that you will be glad to get anything from me by now I am going ahead with this note. Will pick up the ribbons tomorrow.

Have no idea how I am going to make out with this letter, whether there are to be any interruptions of what but here goes.....

I suppose top item on the agenda is the ~~International~~ International question or should it be posed the question of the international. We have all carefully noted your comments on the statement that we sent out. Your criticism of the concluding paragraph is well taken. I assume full responsibility for the formulation for it was I ~~that~~ drew it up following a rather lengthy and detailed discussion the Sunday previous. Your version of what it should have been is better, more to the point, not so capable of misinterpretation. It says just what I wanted to make clear--we are for fighting things out through the international if possible and at the world Congress.

Since then I was the recipient of a lengthy missile drawn up by the IEC I suppose, which I also take it Pablo controls. They wished me to affix my signature to it. I am sending you a copy of my reply for your personal information. We had a discussion on this IEC missile--Fitzgerald had read it prior to the discussion, McAlpine had not. I told them that I intended to reply generally along the line of this letter which I drew up immediately afterwards. Fitzgerald opposed my criticism of the missile and had the support of McAlpine. I tell you this for I think that it has bearing on how we should conduct ourselves in this very important struggle.

Here in Toronto we were somewhat slow in taking up the IEC document and the SWP plenum criticism. The mass movement provincial convention and our three election campaigns along with a special class we wanted to wind up impeded us. So far we have devoted three meetings to this problem. 2 which Williams took up in giving a report of the IEC document with contributions from everyone and one covering the SWP plenum criticism. Tomorrow night we are scheduled to have a debate by two comrades one sustaining the SWP documents line and the other the internationals. We have taken to the technique of debate for it was obvious to me that following to the report on the SWP plenum document, in the discussion that took place several of the comrades have not yet read any of the documents or if they have have only done so superficially and do not really understand what is involved in the struggle. Generally I would not be too anxious for a debate form for it tends to quickly draw lines and I see no reason why things should be hurried.

I feel that we have lots of time at our disposal before drawing the lines. We are not publishing a paper which compells us to take stands on the questions at dispute. The level of our work in the mass movement does not compell us to draw the line on any of the questions at dispute. Our taking a clear and forthright stand right now I do not feel is too imp-



ortent from the point of view of encouraging others to take the right stand. Then of course of first rate importance is our own condition. Here in Toronto we are in no position to take a sharp stand...at this stage it would cause us a lot of difficulties.

Of the three on the tops only I support the SWP. Relationship of forces is much more favorable in the group. There the majority favor the SWP stand, but it is not at all overwhelming. Reaction to the Open Letter here was extremely sharp---after all we are a section and not an unimportant one, the M.C. is here and we had not so much as an inkling of the differences until we read them in the paper. We had no hint that there was so much as a mild disagreement between the SWP and the IEC that there were any political differences even developing on the horizon. We apparently have got careless down here. For instance I read the IS statement on the German uprising in the July 8 Militant but I did not see anything wrong with it at the time. The fact was I was not looking for anything to be wrong with it. I knew our line and I read through it quickly and uncritically. We had no differences up here on the matter and the question let alone this article was not so discussed. Looking at it now I see all its shortcomings. The SWP saw this because it was in the midst of an intense struggle which soon encompassed everything including the event in Germany and every evaluation came under scrutiny. Lenin with his deepgoing familiarity with the Russian labor movement and the Social Democratic party ~~which was~~ clearly saw the meaning of the dispute in 1903, what Menshevism was. Few others in the international labor movement did including IT. But for all his understanding of it in Russia he did not grasp the extent of Menshevik development in the German Social Democracy--you recall that Lenin did not believe the press when it carried the report that the parliamentary fraction supported the war credits to Germany.

It would appear from here that you there have to a considerable extent gathered an insight to the problems from your close association with the youth. However I think it would be a big mistake for anyone to press the matter. It is clear to me that time is completely favorable to a correct decision of the matters at dispute. I was strong for a decisive move when it came to our orientation to the mass movement, for drawing the line sharp and clear and I think correctly so for this was ~~exactly~~ involving our work, our day to day, work in the most immediate sense. Involved here was the question whether we were going to participate in the class struggle in the forms that it had taken here or become sectarian observers of its unfolding. Upon the problems that now confront us we have time, time to educate to clarify. We have until the world congress. We should use this time in my opinion to educate one another and not sharply draw the line at this stage of our experience. As you can tell I imagine we can ill afford to lose anyone. On the question of the mass movement our whole existence since 1945 had been a discussion. On the questions that now confront us we here have only begun the discussion. I have been talking about the problem as it looks from this end. Now is it at that end. Have you had many discussions on the documents that have come out. We have recently received a copy of the Trotskyite Bulletin. I have ordered sufficient to meet the needs of everyone and you should be receiving them soon. How is the group stacking up?

I had hoped to enclose along with this note a letter analyzing the results of our three election campaigns. Unfortunately we have not yet received the breakdown on the campaign that we ran in the Toronto area--the other two as you probably gathered from the leaflets were in the outlying areas. We should have this breakdown within a few days now.



so I will say nothing other than to tell you that there were quite a success in all ways. No, I did not "as you know" know that Hill is a school board candidate nor that "little acid drop" who I take it is Lovett was an aldermanic candidate. Haven't received anything other than your letters since god knows when. Let us know how you made out if the elections have come about.....and if you can do it in the next mail or so so much the better. That would allow me to get everything into one letter to be sent to everyone.

I see it is almost five o'clock so I will bring this to a close. There are several other matters of course that I wanted to write about but I have had several visitors, two shots of Henrico Rum with me and as I say it is five o'clock so I will bring this to a close with the promise to right again at first opportunity.

Warmest regards and greetings for the  
new year of eventful struggles.

Ross

Whether then ask you to place this letter on a piece of white paper so you can read it I am sending you the carbon copy.